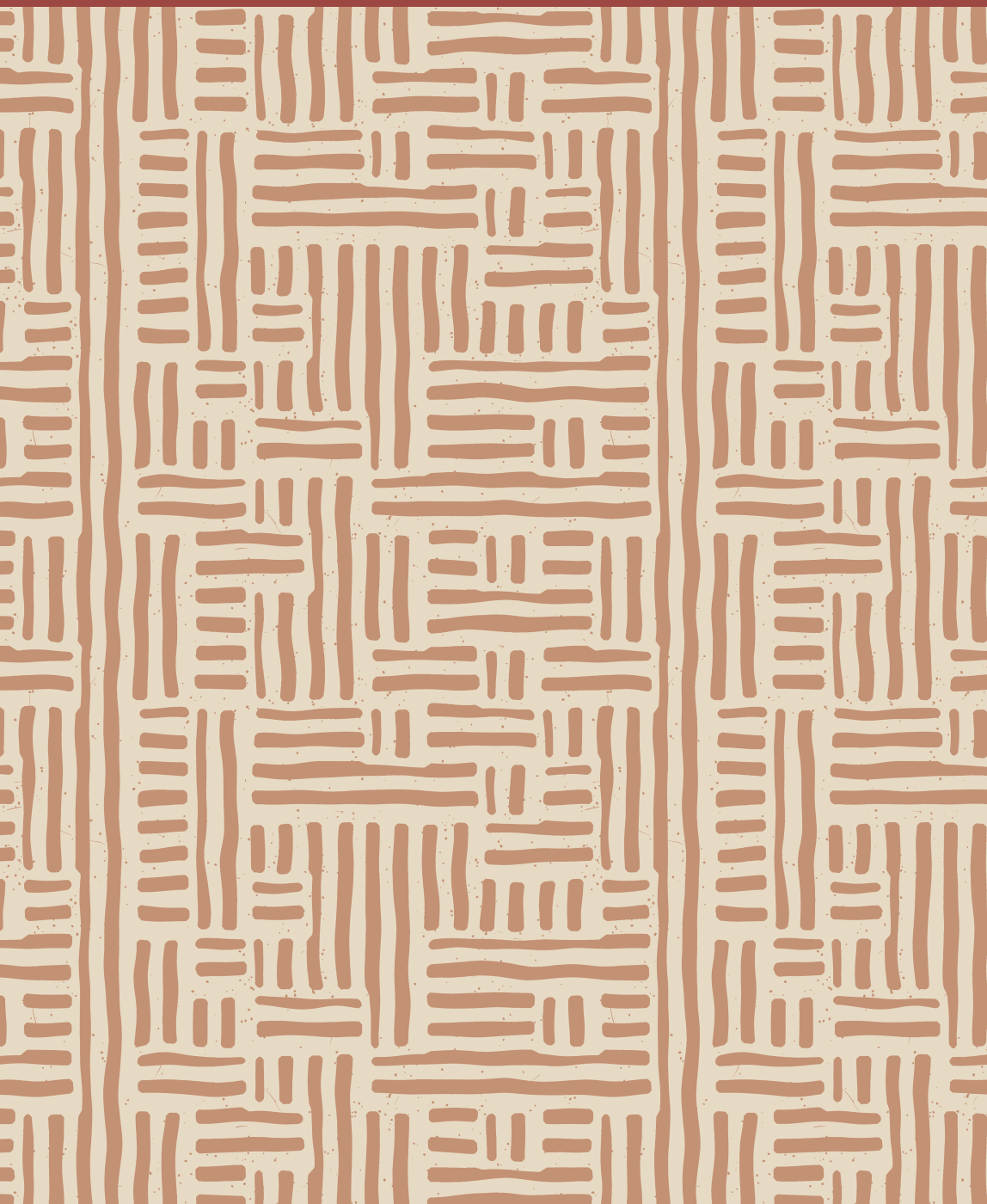


# Izapan-Style Art

*A Study of its Form and Meaning*

Jacinto Quirarte

DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY | 10





STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART & ARCHAEOLOGY NUMBER TEN

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JACINTO QUIRARTE

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JACINTO QUIRARTE  
University of Texas  
at San Antonio

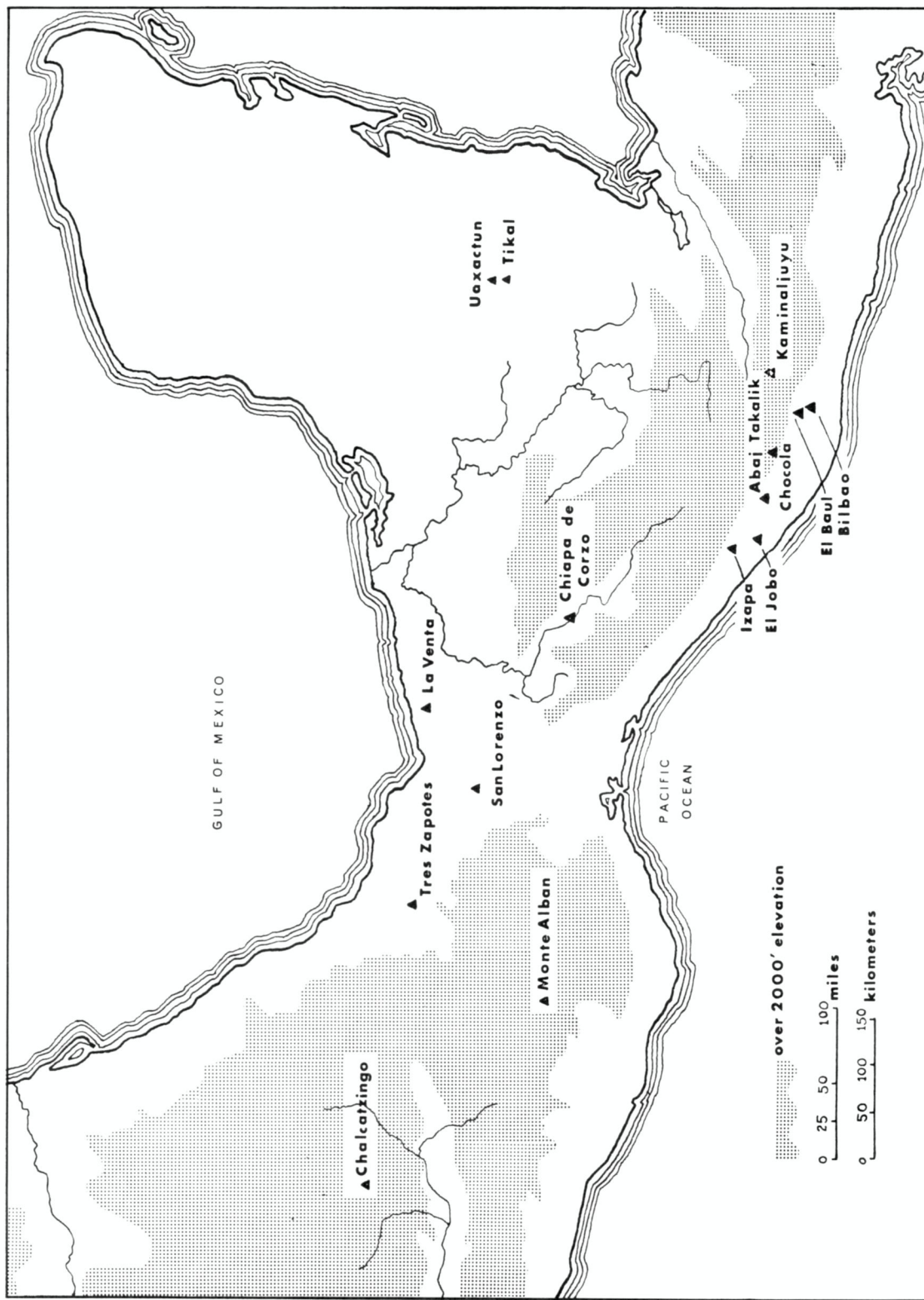


Fig. 1 Map of Middle America showing sites with Izapan-style monuments.

# IZAPAN-STYLE ART

## A STUDY OF ITS FORM AND MEANING

Izapan-style art, named after the Mexican site of Izapa near the Guatemalan border and applied to works of art found primarily in the Chiapas-Guatemala highland and Pacific slope sites, usually occupies a peripheral position in studies of Mesoamerican art. Even when the distinct formal and thematic programs of this sculpture are pointed out, its role as an intermediary, a transitional art between Olmec and Maya, is emphasized. The geographical position of the sites where these sculptures have been found and the temporal horizons assigned them make this view seem most appropriate and correct. The question raised here is whether these works are to be considered primarily as links between these two cultures or whether they are to be considered as formulating new solutions as well.

In order to understand better Izapan-style art and its relationships to preceding and subsequent art styles, I propose to study its formal and thematic programs. Hopefully, this will give us a clearer picture of the art, its form and meaning.

I will be concerned here with relief sculptures from the sites of Izapa, El Baúl, Abaj Takalik, Chiapa de Corzo, and Kaminaljuyú (Fig. 1). A detailed account of all known Izapan-style monuments is given in S.W. Miles (1965), so only the most complete reliefs will be included here. Those considered from outside the area are Tres Zapotes to the northwest, Monte Albán to the west, and Tikal and Uaxactún to the northeast.

### THE MONUMENTS

#### *Discovery*

Most of the monuments have been discovered within the last fifty years. Stela 1, found at El Baúl in the twenties, is one of the earliest discovered Izapan-style monuments, although it was considered an Aztec piece by T. T. Waterman (1929), who photographed and described it (1924:350-1)<sup>1</sup>.

The first detailed report of the sculptures found at Izapa was published by Matthew Stirling (1943:61-74), who excavated them in 1941.

He found fifteen carved stelae and five plain ones, three zoomorphic altars, fourteen plain altars, and one with relief. Rafael Orellana Tapia (1952) published a similar report in Spanish nine years later. In 1955 he reported the discovery of a carved stela (Number 21), on which a decapitation scene is represented (1955). Miles (1965:253, Fig. 12d) published a drawing of a stela (Number 23) made from a photograph taken by Keith Dixon. Recently Ignacio Bernal (1969:172) has listed twenty-two stelae, nineteen altars, and other monuments found at

<sup>1</sup>This is also known as the Herrera Stela.

Izapa. Among the new carved stelae are Numbers 50 and 64.

Two other Izapan-style stelae, now known as Numbers 1 and 2, Abaj Takalik, were excavated in the twenties. Stela 1, known initially as "Piedra Fuentes," was discovered by Max Vollmberg (M. Coe 1957:605). It once stood next to Stela 2, which was excavated in 1925 by Walter Lehmann, who named it Stela Schlubach (1926:176). These were later named after the farms near which they were found. Thus "Piedra Fuentes" became Stela 1, San Isidro Piedra Parada, and Stela Schlubach became Stela 2, Santa Margarita. Eric Thompson, in his report (1943), was apparently unaware that Stela 2 was Lehmann's Stela Schlubach, described twenty years earlier. These have since been grouped under the single name of Abaj Takalik ("standing stones") by Miles (1965:246).

The two carved human femurs, discovered at Chiapa de Corzo in 1957 by Pierre Agrinier, were reported by Dixon (1958, 1959)<sup>2</sup> and fully discussed by Agrinier (1960).<sup>3</sup>

Stelae 10 and 11, Kaminaljuyú, were discovered by E. M. Shook in the late fifties (Miles 1965:255). Another Izapan-style or early Maya-style monument was discovered in Bilbao (Number 42) and discussed by Lee Parsons (1967).

### *Literature*

The similarities between Izapan-style sculptures and those of the Olmec and Maya areas have long been noted by specialists. (Whenever Izapa is cited in the following comments, the reference is to the site rather than to the style.) Stirling (1943:73) saw the relationship of Izapa sculpture to the "early stone art of the southeastern Mexican coastal area" and to early Maya art, yet Izapa sculpture in Stirling's view is distinct enough to stand by itself.

Thompson (1943:101, 104) saw the similari-

ties of Stela 1, San Isidro Piedra Parada, and Stela 2, Santa Margarita (Abaj Takalik), to Izapa, with Stela 1 also demonstrating parallels to Olmec sculpture.

Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950:177) saw the resemblance of certain Izapa designs to the sculpture at La Venta and the connection of others to Early Period Maya art and to the art of Monte Albán. She also pointed out similarities of costume details of the figures represented on Stelae 1 and 2, Abaj Takalik, to early Maya forms (Proskouriakoff 1950:176). She related Stela 1, El Baúl (1950:175), to Izapa and to San Isidro Piedra Parada (Abaj Takalik), with its upper design suggesting Monte Albán sculpture.

The inclusion of El Baúl Stela 1 within an early temporal horizon and its identification as Izapan in style was long in coming. Doubt was cast on Lehmann's (1926:175) reading of the inscription as a Cycle 7 date by Waterman (1929) and later by Thompson (1941). Great controversy swirled around this stela for many years, even though Proskouriakoff (1950:175) had interpreted the piece as early. Michael Coe (1957:600-3) resolved the calendric problem once and for all and gave a detailed exposition of events which led to the acceptance of this monument as Izapan in style.

M. Coe (1962:99-100; 1965:773-4; 1968:121) has done more perhaps than anyone else in the last ten years to postulate connections between Olmec, Izapan, and Maya cultures. He has seen Izapa art as "highly distinctive" but "obviously derived from the Olmec," its real importance lying in its role as "the connecting link in time and space between the earlier Olmec civilization and the later Classic Maya" (Coe 1962:99-100). He has noted the Maya borrowings of Izapan concepts (stela-and-altar complex), deities (long-lipped god), style (baroque), and calendrics (El Baúl Stela 1). M. Coe (1965:773-4) has also traced the Olmec traits in Izapan art: the St. Andrew's cross and the U element, scrollwork skies or clouds, scenes contained within stylized jaguar mouths, realistic depiction of well-fed human forms, and the

<sup>2</sup>Dixon numbered these 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup>Agrinier's designation of these bones as 1 and 3 is followed in this study.

flame-scroll brow. Significant differences are the long-lipped heads, deities descending from the sky, and winged figures. He has defined the geographical extensions of the Izapan style beyond the Chiapas-Guatemalan highland and Pacific slope sites (Tres Zapotes Stelae D and A, and Monument C). At all times he has characterized Izapan art as baroque and Olmec art as classic.

Miles (1965:242) has tried to place Izapan-style monuments within a chronological framework by correlating them with highland ceramic phases. She classified the boulder and relief sculptures into four divisions. Most of the boulder sculptures were placed within the first division, while the relief sculptures were distributed within the other three. The classification of the monuments within these four divisions was based on a study of the motifs ("signatures" or top-line designs, jaguars, dragon heads, trees, objects like the stiff hide wings) and details of execution. The emphasis and role given these details are, in Miles's view, sensitive indicators of time and style affiliations.

Thus Miles did little with the thematic structures, preferring to concentrate on the motifs and their execution. In a few rare interpretative statements (1965:251-2) she saw the figure depicted on Stela 1 as a fishing god, and the fat figure on Stela 6 as a jaguar with monkey paws. She interpreted the small canoe-like form on the upper left of Stela 6 as an early form of the "signature" (top-line design); that is, only the U-shaped element was used here (Miles 1965:251). She did even less with the formal data. One of her rare evaluative statements concerns the figures on Stela 21, which, in her view, are "badly proportioned and crudely handled" (1965:258).

Bernal (1969:172) saw Izapa sculpture as "baroque and florid" but undoubtedly related to the Olmec. He further associated Izapa with the sculpture of El Baúl and San Isidro Piedra Parada (Abaj Takalik) and even with the Tonalá culture. However, he preferred to designate the sculptures of these sites as Chiapas-Guatemala

in style rather than Izapan (1969:185).

Like M. Coe and others, Bernal has used these sculptures to postulate connecting ties between the Olmec and Maya cultures, although he does not think that the latter is derived exclusively from the Chiapas-Guatemala style but has its roots in the Petén and in the central zone (Mexico).

### *Chronology*

All Izapan-style sculptures have been considered Late Pre-Classic and Proto-Classic (Table I). The dates assigned these periods vary according to the author cited. M. Coe's (1962:15) Late Formative (Pre-Classic), in which he places Izapa, corresponds to 300 B.C. to A.D. 100; the Proto-Classic immediately following terminates around A.D. 300. Parson's placement (1969: inside back cover) of Izapa in the Proto-Classic spans a two-hundred-year period (100 B.C.-A.D. 100). Susanna Ekholm (1969:19) places Izapa sculptures in the Duende Phase (600-500 B.C.) or possibly just afterwards in the Late Pre-Classic (500-100 B.C.). Bernal (1969:127) associates Izapa with Olmec III (600-100 B.C.).

Since there are no actual dates associated with Izapa stelae, the problem has been to sort them out and to determine which are early and late and which are coeval within this generally accepted duration of several centuries.

George Kubler (1962:212) and Miles (1965:257) have suggested sequences based on studies of the scenes (simple or elaborate narratives), the top-line designs (simple or complicated), and the frames (top, bottom, or complete). The general outline of these sequences is followed here. A formal and iconographic analysis of the top- and base-line designs and of the narrative frames—motifs, themes, symbols—will be made in order to refine these, and to place them within a chronological framework. Not included in Miles's tabulation are Stelae 50 (Bernal 1969:Pl. 86) and 64,<sup>4</sup> Izapa, and Stela 19,

<sup>4</sup>This stela has not been published.

Miles's Divisions of Izapan-Style Sculptures  
(based on 1965:273, Table 1)\*

| Division | Sites and Monuments |                                 | Phase                                    | Christian Dates |
|----------|---------------------|---------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1        | I.                  | Alt. 2                          |  |                 |
| 2        | I.                  | St. 1, 3, 6, 10, 11, 23         | Late Providencia<br>(developmental)      | ?—400 B.C.      |
|          | K.                  | St. 4                           |  |                 |
| 3        | I.                  | St. 4, 9, 19, 20                | Miraflores<br>(calendar,<br>hieroglyphs) | 350—100 B.C.    |
|          | K.                  | St. 10, 11; C.C. Femurs 1, 3    |  |                 |
| 4        | I.                  | St. 2, 5, 12, 18, 21; A.T. 1, 2 | Arenal (narrative)                       | 100 B.C.—A.D. 1 |

\* Abbreviations: I.—Izapa; K.—Kaminaljuyú; A.T.—Abaj Takalik; C.C.—Chiapa de Corzo; St.—Stela; Alt.—Altar.

Kaminaljuyú (Proskouriakoff 1968:125, Fig. 4), all recent discoveries.

### *Iconography*

The breakdown of top- and base-line designs and the scenes within narrative frames into elements, units, motifs, and themes is the initial step taken in the study of these stone monuments. Contextual settings of each part are carefully considered for the light they might shed on the meaning of these and related sections. Erwin Panofsky's iconographic scheme (1939:3-17) and Kubler's recent studies (1969) in this field are followed here as guides.

Panofsky distinguished three strata of meaning in every work of art: primary or natural subject matter (artistic motifs); secondary or conventional subject matter (images, stories, and allegories); intrinsic meaning or content ("symbolical" values). Miles (1965) concentrated on the first level by citing objects and their formal expressions in order to establish a historical framework for the Izapan-style monuments. No one has yet dealt with the thematic structures. Written sources which would give us an insight into the meaning of the themes or concepts expressed do not exist. The third level is the most difficult to define for it rests on the other two.

Kubler (1969:47-8) offered six working hypotheses which should be useful in the study of New World motifs, themes, and symbols. The first of these is perhaps the most pertinent to this study: it states that the structure of images (iconographic forms) and the context in which they are meaningful must be known before their development, history, and the changes they undergo can be known. Since no explanatory texts exist for the material under consideration, much of the meaning of these images must be inferred by studying the figural evidence.

Kubler's last hypothesis, which is also useful in the study of these sculptures, takes the rules of disjunction into account in studies of form or meaning. This view, first postulated by Panofsky (1960:1-41), who used medieval and classic art survivals as a model, holds that content (classical) may survive in new forms (medieval), while old forms (classical) may survive devoid of original content, but with new meanings (Christian). This is also applicable to the monuments of the three cultures under discussion. They do not demonstrate strong formal affinities yet they share some motifs and elements in common. Elements like the U shape and diagonal and crossed bands are found in works

from the Olmec, Izapan, and Maya areas. Concepts like the open mouth of the feline-serpent figure as a stage for the scenes represented at La Venta (Stela 1, Altar 4) persist at Izapa with a change in form. By the same token the downward-flying figures and the related downward-peering heads are carried over with a change in form from Izapan-style monuments (Stelae 2 and 4 and Kaminaljuyú Stela 11) to early Maya stelae (Tikal Stelae 4, 29, and 31). Thus Olmec concepts survived in Izapan pieces with changes in form, while Izapan forms were retained in Maya art with different meanings.

### *Morphology*

How are the subjects, actions, narratives, and events depicted? How did the sculptor arrange the various parts of the work? What are the proportions of the figures portrayed? Their scale? Their relationship to the visual field? How do the figures compare in size? What is the ratio of foreground figures to those in the background? How is the space broken up? Do these constitute constant schemes? These and other questions have been posed in efforts to determine what is Izapan in these sculptures. Once these distinguishing characteristics have been firmly established, it will be easier to determine which forms and motifs were continued or discarded within the respective sculptural traditions: Olmec, Izapan, and Maya.

### *Techniques and Pictorial Conventions*

The format, relief, or modeling of forms, their definition in spatial terms, and the use of line will follow the general outline given below.

1. Number of surfaces used (front, back, sides).
2. Classification of artists' techniques.
  - a. *Plano relief*—the area around the figure (space behind) is cut away so as to create two distinct physical planes: positive and negative spaces.
  - b. *Low relief* (gradation of forms)—the areas between outlines of forms and the background are not abruptly cut away. There is gradual easing from one plane to another so that the illusion of a middle ground is firmly established. The forms appear to be round rather than sharply contoured.
  - c. *Incising*—only one physical plane is used by the sculptor for details or for the depiction of major forms.
3. Spatial framework.
  - a. Frame or boundary (below, above, sides).
  - b. Conventions—overlapping of forms, diminution or differences in the size of figures, relative placement of the forms in the visual field.
4. Visual Elements.
  - a. Line used to: *define form* (outline of objects or shapes) in single or double contours; establish or define differences between objects and their qualities (feathers, trees, foliation, flesh, shells, etc); establish their hierarchy by emphasizing their individual texture or the surface quality of each type of object.
  - b. Line used to *express movement or stability* (undulating, erratic, even, broken lines independent of their form-defining functions).

## TOP- AND BASE-LINE DESIGNS

### *Composition*

Almost all Izapa stelae have top-line designs which are comprised of clearly delineated scrolls, horizontal and diagonal bands, brackets, and U-shaped elements. These elements do not

vary in thickness. All corners are rounded off. Analysis of the designs to determine their variations is based on a study and breakdown of the units and their constituent parts or elements. It was found that these parts could best be stud-

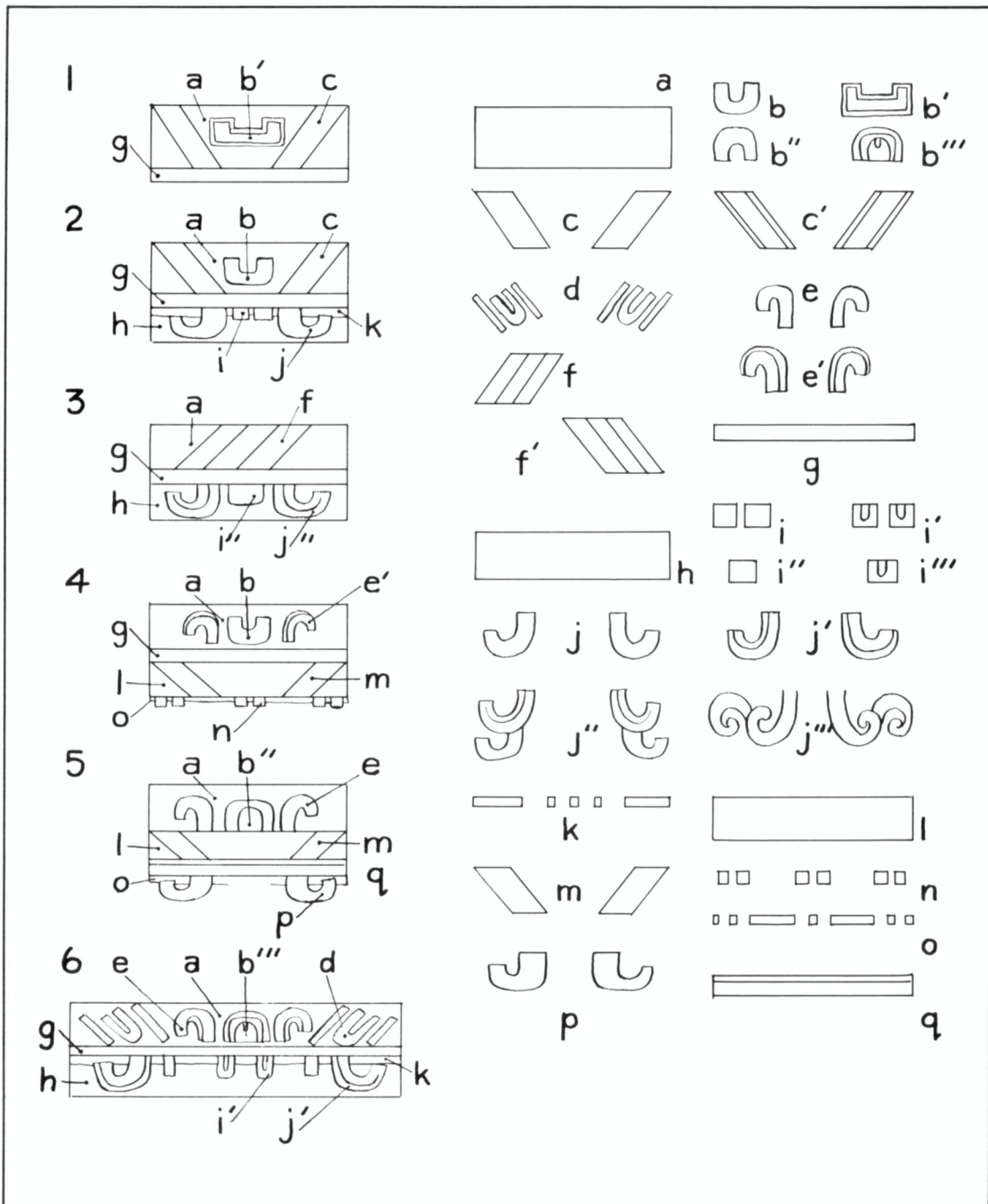


Fig. 2 Top-line designs, Groups 1 through 6. *Panel 1 elements:* a. Panel 1; b. U shapes; c. Diagonal bands; d. Framed slanted U shapes; e. Upside-down J-form scrolls; f. Parallel diagonal bands; g. Horizontal band. *Panel 2 elements:* h. Panel 2; i. Brackets; j. J-form scrolls; k. Overlapped horizontal band. *Panel 3 elements:* l. Panel 3; m. Diagonal bands; n. Brackets; o. Overlapped horizontal band; p. J-form scrolls.



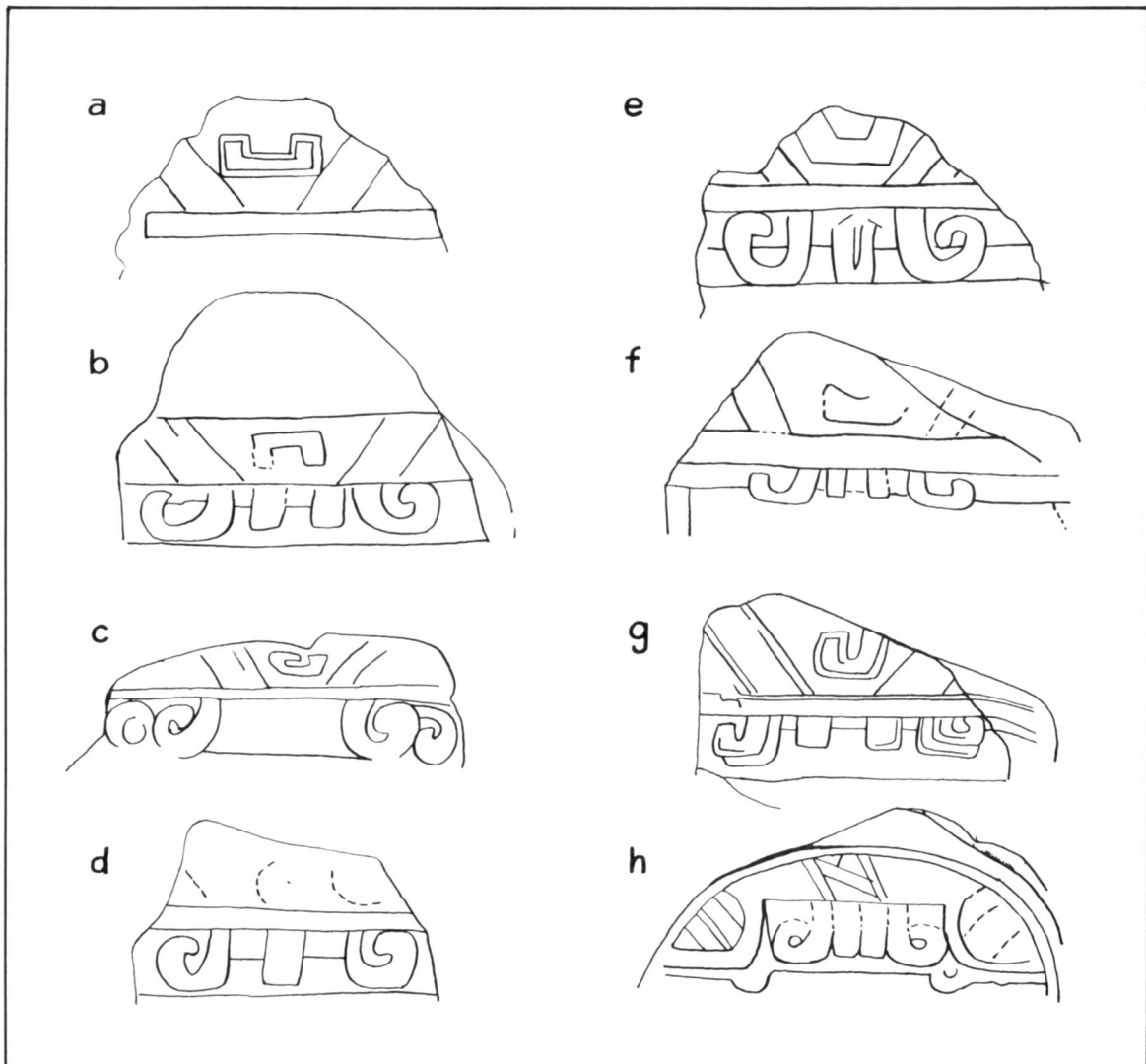


Fig. 3 Top-line designs, Groups 1 and 2: *a.* Izapa, Stela 3 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 50); *b.* Izapa, Stela 1 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 49); *c.* Izapa, Stela 10 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 56); *d.* Izapa, Stela 11 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 53); *e.* Izapa, Stela 21 (after Orellana Tapia 1955: Fig. 2); *f.* Izapa, Stela 2 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 49); *g.* Izapa, Stela 4 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 51); *h.* Abaj Takalik, Stela 1 (after Thompson 1943: 110).

ied by analysing their shape, position, and contextual setting. In some cases the identifying features of an element, its shape or position, were unchanged, but its contextual setting was altered, that is, the elements normally surrounding it changed.

There are at least six different designs (Figs.

2, 3, and 4). Group 1, the simplest, is comprised of four elements (*a*, *b*, *c*, and *g*) while Group 6, the most complex, has nine (*a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, and *k*).

Most of the designs have an upper and a lower panel—Panels 1 and 2, elements *a* and *h* (hereafter, only the letters used to designate the

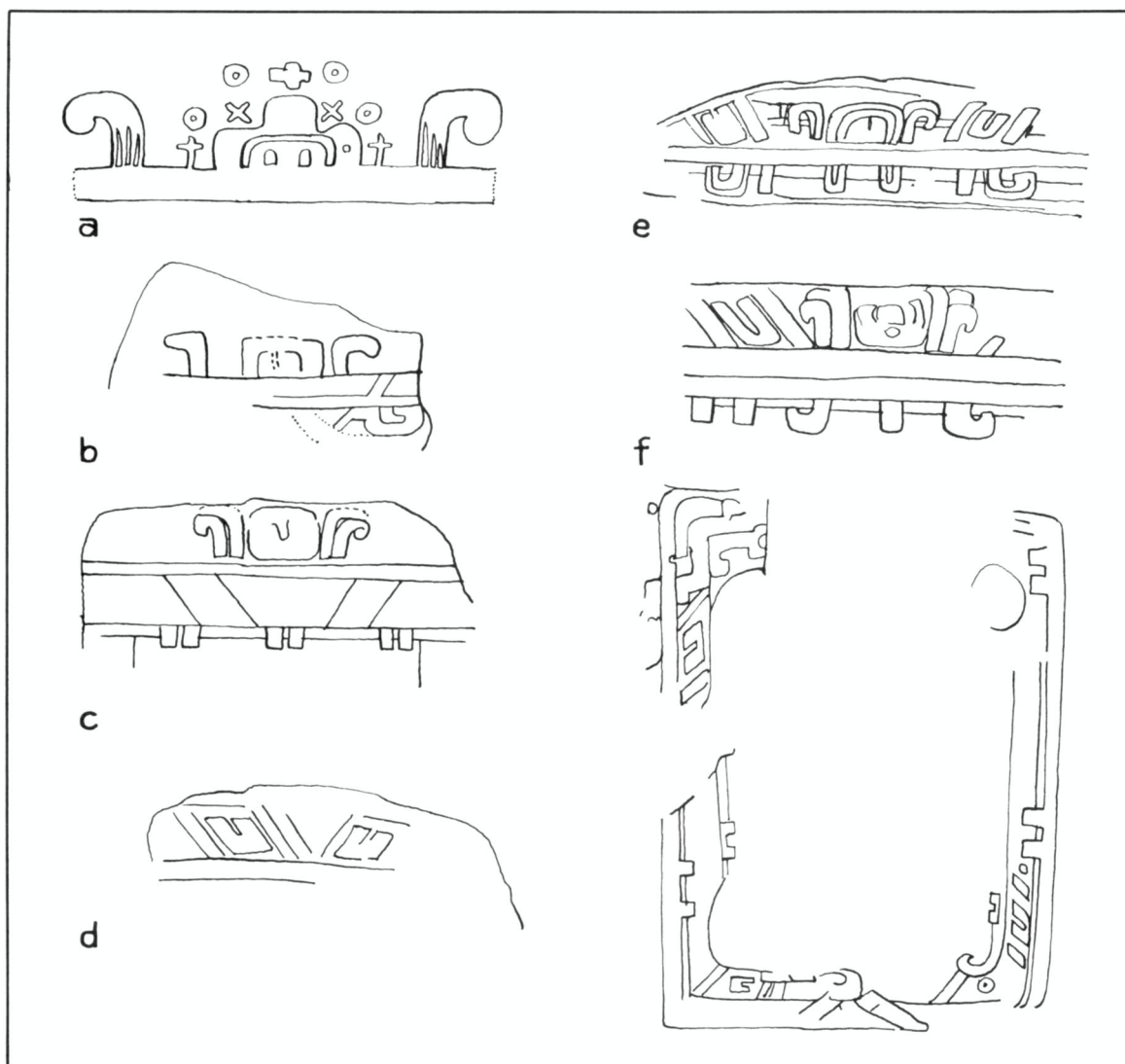


Fig. 4 Top-line designs, Groups 3 through 6: *a*. Motif painted on a vessel from Viejón (after Bernal 1969: Fig. 25); *b*. Izapa, Stela 18 (after Lowe 1965: Fig. 7); *c*. Izapa, Stela 9 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 56); *d*. El Jobo, Stela 1 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15); *e*. Izapa, Stela 5 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 52); *f*. Izapa, Stela 12 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 54).

elements will be used)—with a horizontal band (g) acting as a divider between them. Groups 4 and 5 have Panel 3 (l) in place of Panel 2. Only Group 1 has a single panel. The other elements are distributed within one or more of these panels. Elements b through f are found in Panel

1 (all groups) and elements i through k are found in Panel 2 (Groups 2 and 6). Elements m through p are found in Panel 3 (Groups 4 and 5).

The U shape (b), which has four variants, is consistently placed in the center of Panel 1 in all groups, except 3. Parallel diagonal bands

slanted to left or right (f) are used in lieu of elements b through e in this group. Almost all examples at Izapa have the U element. It may be significant that, in the two stelae (19 and 20) where this element is suppressed, there are no figural scenes represented, only more elaborate and larger top-line design elements.

Double opposed diagonal bands (c) are found on Panel 1 in groups 1 and 2, whereas double oblique U's framed by narrow diagonal bands (d) are found in the same position in Group 6. Up-side-down J-form scrolls (e) are found in Groups 4, 5, and 6.

Single or double brackets (i) are found with double J-form scrolls (j) in Groups 2, 3, and 6. In at least one case (Stela 10), a diagonal band is placed within a cartouche instead of the usual single or double brackets. An interrupted or overlapped horizontal band (k) is found in Groups 2 and 6.

Double opposed diagonal bands (m) in Groups 4 and 5 are identical to those found in Panel 1 in Groups 1 and 2. The decision to give this element a different letter designation was made because of its position. It is within a panel which would be identified as Panel 2 (h) in the other groups, but this panel in Groups 4 and 5 is probably an entirely different panel. Panel 2, which would normally form the background for elements i and k, is missing. The diagonal bands have been moved down from Panel 1, as have the brackets and J-form scrolls. The latter two elements are now dangling with no panel for a background. It would seem appropriate, considering the change in contextual settings of these elements, to give them another letter designation. This is particularly true of the panel, since it does not have the usual elements placed on it, even though its shape or position has not been altered. Thus the panel is l, diagonal bands m, brackets n, interrupted horizontal bands o, the double J-form scrolls p, and the horizontal band q.

The base-line designs, which demonstrate a far greater variety of elements and configurations, can be classified into at least ten groups

(Fig. 5). Whereas the top-line designs vary according to the placement of basically similar elements, the base-line designs may differ quite drastically from one group to another. The ten base-line groups can be classified into three distinct categories while the top-line designs can be placed within one. Parallel diagonal bands (e) place Groups 2 through 5 within the first category. The unique Group 6 designs (h) comprise the second. Scroll bands (k), triangles (l), and frets (m) within Groups 7 through 10 make up the third.

Each base-line design has a panel (a) within which one or more of twelve elements are placed. Although not always apparent, this single rectangular panel is used in all groups in contrast to the division of the top-line designs into at least two registers.

Group I is the simplest with only a panel (a) topped by a horizontal band (b). Most of the early Izapa stelae have this design or a simple ground line.

Horizontal bands (b) or a complete frame (d), single parallel diagonal bands (e), diagonals with small horizontal extensions on their outer edges (f), and/or scallops (g) are used in Groups 2 through 5.

As in Groups 2 through 5, diagonal bands (i) are used in Group 6 designs. However, here they are opposed rather than parallel. Furthermore, these designs are composed of a very distinct panel (h). Two rectangular pendants or brackets are attached to the horizontal bar which goes to the edges of the stone and then turns downward, back in again, and upward to terminate in the characteristic scrolls used in these monuments (Figs. 5h and 6). The two jaguar heads carved on the Chiapa de Corzo femurs wear a similarly shaped "collar."

Undulating lines (j) distinguish the Group 7 designs. These may be used as the ground, or they can be topped by an elaborate scroll band (k). A scroll-eyed head is placed at each end of the undulating lines.

Group 8 and 9 designs also have a scroll band (k). It is used by itself in Group 9 and with

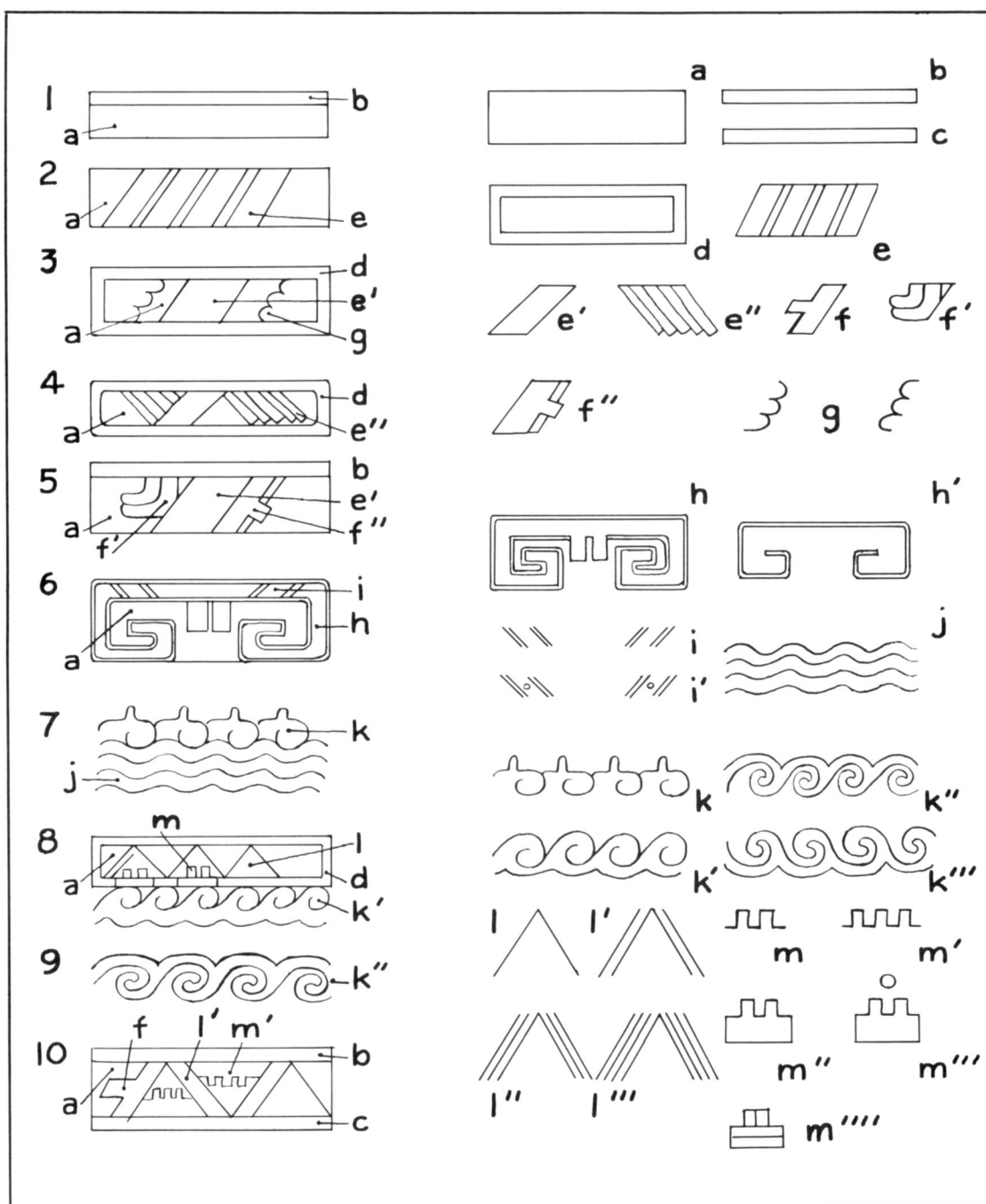
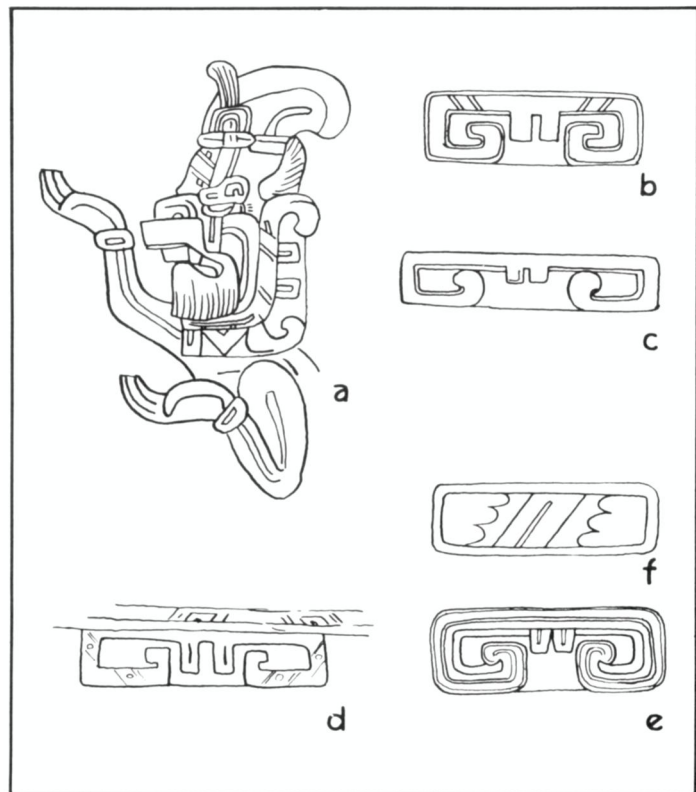


Fig. 5 Base-line designs, Groups 1 through 10. Elements: *a*. Panel; *b, c*. Horizontal band; *d*. Frame; *e*. Diagonal bands; *f*. Diagonal bands with horizontal brackets; *g*. Scallops; *h*. "Collar"; *i*. Diagonal bands; *j*. Undulating lines; *k*. Scroll bands; *l*. Triangular shapes; *m*. Stepped frets.

Fig. 6 Base-line designs: *a*. Chiapa de Corzo, Bone 1 (after Agrinier 1960: Fig. 1); *b*. Izapa, Stela 4 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 51); *c*. Izapa, Altar 20 (after Lowe 1965: Fig. 9); *d*. Izapa, Stela 18 (after Lowe 1965: Fig. 9); *e*. Kaminaljuyú, Stela 11 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15); *f*. Izapa, Stela 50 (after Bernal 1969: Pl. 86).



stepped frets (m) placed within triangles (1) in Group 8 designs (Fig. 7). Like the undulating lines and the scroll bands, the stepped frets within triangular units are also used singly, as in Group 10 designs, or with other elements, as in Group 8 designs.

Frets, triangles, and scroll bands appear to the left of the tree-roots on Stela 5. These comprise the most elaborate base-line design, in keeping with the complicated top-line design of this stela. Frets and triangles and scroll bands are also found on Chiapa de Corzo Stelae 4, 5, and 7. All three elements appear on monuments from outside the Izapan area (Fig. 7). The scroll bands are seen on Tres Zapotes Monument C, while the frets and triangles are found on the cheeks of the “jaguar-mask” panel on Stela C from the same site. The scroll band is also found on a yoke from Medellín, Veracruz, which suggested to Proskouriakoff (1954:77) a possible

Teotihuacán influence. On it, a double-headed body is made up of scrolls. However, instead of the continuous C-like scrolls following one another, as in Izapa Stela 5 and Tres Zapotes Monument C, they alternate from top to bottom, as they do on Chiapa de Corzo Stelae 4 and 5, thus forming backward S’s. These are similar to the typical intertwined serpent bodies found throughout Mesoamerica. Stepped frets within triangles are also found on the Alvarado and Tepatlaxco Stelae (Fig. 7b and c), monuments outside the temporal and spatial range of Izapan-style sculpture.

#### *Meaning and Function*

In contrast to the Olmec jaguar-monster “masks” analysed by Drucker (1952:193, Fig. 58), the Izapa top-line designs do not have the obvious reference to the mouth, eyes, and eyebrows of the easily identified mask found in

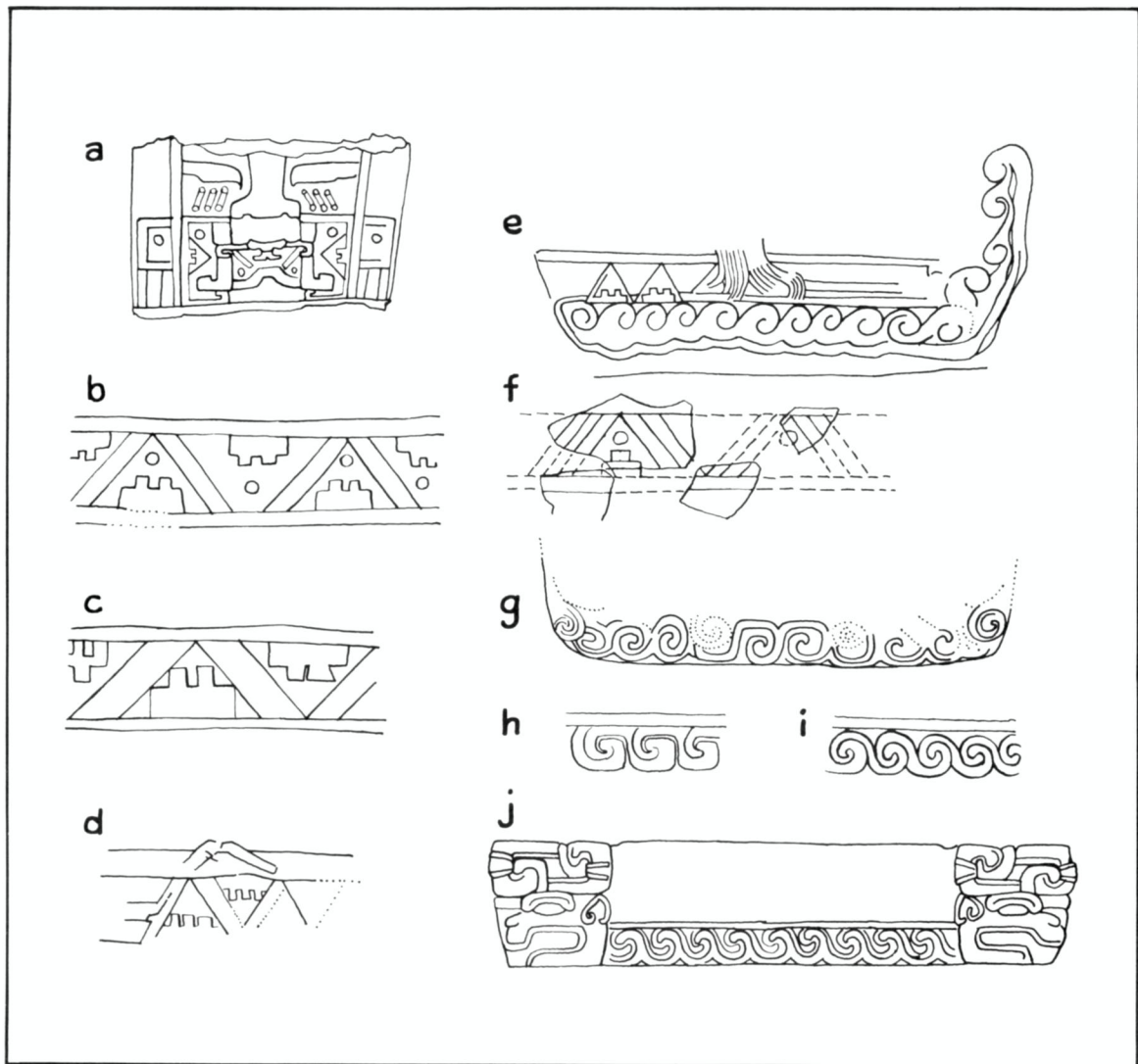


Fig. 7 Jaguar attributes as terrestrial symbols: *a.* Tres Zapotes, Stela C (after Covarrubias 1961: Fig. 19); *b.* Stela from Alvarado (after Covarrubias 1961: Fig. 29); *c.* Stela from Teptatlaxco (after Covarrubias 1961: Pl. XVII); *d.* Izapa, Stela 12 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 54); *e.* Izapa, Stela 5 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 52); *f.* Chiapa de Corzo, Stela 7 (after Lee 1969: Fig. 64); *g.* Tres Zapotes, Monument C (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 5); *h,i.* Chiapa de Corzo, Stelae 4 and 5 (after Lee 1969: Fig. 62); *j.* Medellín, Veracruz, upper part and sides of yoke (after Covarrubias 1961: Fig. 76).

Olmec representations. If a similar concept is intended in Izapa, then the representation of the head is far more abstract than it is in the Olmec monuments. The formal configuration no longer has any similarity to Olmec examples, which never fully depart from natural models.

The Izapa top-line designs probably represent the "jaguar-mask" panels seen by Stirling (1943:62-7). But, like those in the Olmec area, the Izapa designs are more than a singular reference to a feline creature. Drucker (1952:194) noted that, "in most, though perhaps not all



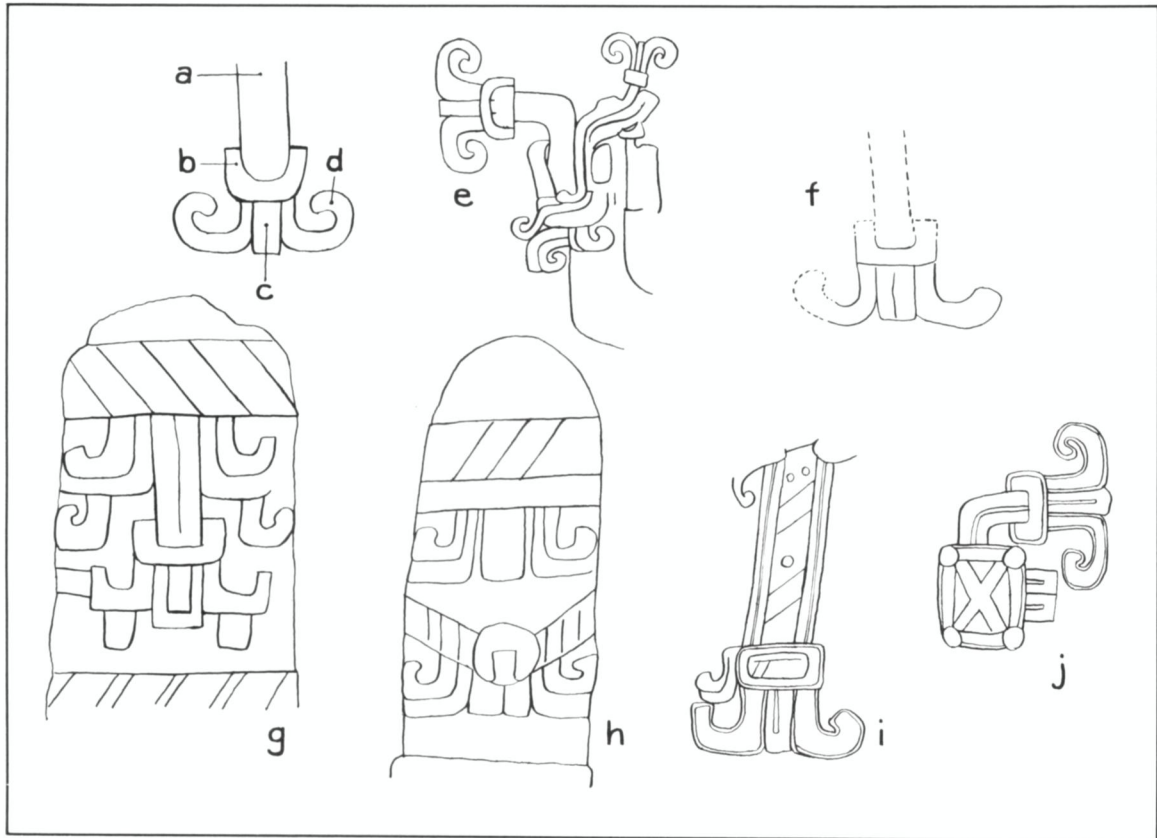


Fig. 8 Bifurcated serpent tongues. *Prototype*: a. Stem; b. U shape; c. Bracket; d. J-form scrolls. *Examples*: e. Izapa, Stela 3 (after Bushnell 1965: Fig. 17); f. Izapa, north and south sides, Stela 18 (after Lowe 1965: Fig. 7); g. Izapa, Stela 20 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 57); h. Izapa, Stela 19 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 57); i. Kaminaljuyú, belt sash, Stela 11 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15); j. Kaminaljuyú, Stela 11, earplug (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15).

cases, the being represented is a monster who combines jaguar, bird, and snake traits." Monument 6, one of the six jaguar-monster "masks" analysed by Drucker (1952:193, Fig. 58), has a forked tongue. The bird traits are represented by the feathered brows, while the rest of the unit has feline attributes. A similar breakdown can be found in Izapa. Feline attributes appear to form the basis for the design (Fig. 2). Elements g, h, i, j, and k must be the upper jaw of the jaguar, with fangs (j) and teeth (i) prominently displayed.

The serpentine attributes are also represented

in an abstract way. A large bifurcated serpent tongue invades the narrative panel of Stela 20 (Fig. 8g). This is identical to the bifurcated tongue shown coming out of the serpent's mouth on Stela 3 (Fig. 8c). The same tongue is attached to the earplug worn by the figure on Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 (Fig. 8j), where the central part is a crossed-bands element. The bifurcated tongue related to crossed bands within a cartouche, but with the inclusion of a long-lipped head, is found on the top right side of Stela 18. Another tongue flows from the long-lipped head worn at belt level by the Stela 11 figure. Here

the tongue doubles for the belt sash or loin cloth, and the inner band is decorated with diagonal bands and dots (Fig. 8i). An almost identical representation, but without the dots, is found on the earthbound striding figure of Stela 4. Diagonal bands are invariably connected to representations of serpentine creatures. Crossed bands are also references to the serpent.

The double opposed diagonals in Groups 1, 2, 4, and 5 top-line designs may be simpler renditions of the framed slanted U's placed in the same position in Group 6 designs. If this is the case, then diagonals would definitely refer to the serpent's body, as is seen on Izapa Stela 12 (Fig. 4f). The narrative panel is framed by two serpent bodies. The heads face toward the center and complete the upper horizontal of the frame. The jaguar represented directly below hangs from ropes (?) attached to scroll head-dresses worn by both serpent heads. The serpent bodies have the same framed slanted U's repeated at intervals as those seen in Group 6 top-line designs. Brackets (i) are also included. Is this a serpent with feline attributes? The brackets would seem to support this interpretation. The contextual setting of the elaborate diagonals (d) seems to point to the feline origins. The top-ledge design of La Venta Altar 4, with jaguar head in the center, has double opposed diagonal bands on the second register of the ledge. The crossed-bands element in the mouth of the jaguar is probably a reference to the serpent. The feline creature with crocodilian attributes represented in Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 wears diagonals within cartouches as hat, wristlet, and leglets (Fig. 11a). Diagonals are found in the mouth of the jaguar-monster "mask" with reptilian tongue represented on Monument C, Tres Zapotes.

The upside-down J-form scrolls (j) found in Group 4, 5, and 6 designs are similar to the central element found on the upper lip of the Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 figure. It is also found on the scroll heads represented in Kaminaljuyú Stela 19, the Viejón vessel (Fig. 4a), and on the upper part of Tres Zapotes Stela D.

Do these figural representations have any direct relationship to the Izapa top-line designs? The base-line designs on Stelae 4 and 18, and Altar 20 at Izapa, and on Stela 11, Kaminaljuyú, are identical to the "collar" worn by the bearded jaguar figure seen on the carved human femur found at Chiapa de Corzo (Fig. 6a). This bearded figure may be the same one represented on Stela 19, Kaminaljuyú (Fig. 11a). At least in Groups 4, 5, and 6 top-line designs, this may be the creature intended. However, not all stelae with the "collar" designs have the top-line designs with the upside-down J-form scrolls.

The combinations of top- and base-line designs do not present any clear patterns (Table II). It seems evident that not one but several different compound figures were used by the sculptors for these designs. Thus something other than strictly feline-serpent compound figures may be the models for the open mouths represented in the various groups.

The simple diagonals of the Group 2 through 5 base-line designs may be references to a serpentine or reptilian creature. Group 7 is definitely a representation of water, as can be seen on Stela 1 (Pl. I). Swimming fishes are included within the wavy lines. Group 6 designs are the "collars" worn by the Chiapa de Corzo jaguar figures. The stepped frets within triangles found in Groups 8 and 10 may be the markings of the body of a reptilian creature, perhaps intended to symbolize the terrestrial sphere. The scrolls found in Groups 7, 8, and 9 designs are more difficult to define, although on Stela 5 (Pl. IX) they seem to be attached to a stylized representation of falling water (right side of the stela).

How should activities represented within the narrative frame, presumably the mouth of one or several compound feline-serpent creatures, be interpreted? Since figures are never shown emerging from a niche, as they are in Olmec examples, the Izapan scenes must be direct references to the surface rather than to the interior of the earth. In Izapan examples the narrative frame is more like a stage where events take place.



## MOTIFS, THEMES, AND SYMBOLS

Motifs and themes and their configurations, which differ from Olmec examples, form the basis for a confusing array of images in Izapan-style art. Compound figures and human celebrants are involved in activities into which extremely elaborate traits and costumes are incorporated. Figures wear feather wings or stiff, notched round wings. Similarly attired anthropomorphic flying figures are represented in the upper zones of some of the sculptures. These figures sometimes attack or grapple with a compound serpent figure on the ground or in

the air. At other times the human celebrants and attendants are simply dressed and presented in pairs and shown seated with incense burners and other objects between them.

### *Scroll-eyed Heads*

The prototypal scroll-eyed head (Figs. 9 and 10) is comprised of a stepped horizontal bar for the upper lip (a), with a flaring nostril (b) above, and a large tooth below (c); behind the nostril, a large scroll above (d) in place of the eye and another below for the lower jaw (h). The upper scroll is echoed by a similar form with serrated outer profile (e). One or several upward-swinging scrolls project from the front of the head (f). Similar single or multiple scrolls (i) are usually presented coming out of the mouth. The scroll earplugs are also very characteristic features (j).

The greatest number of scroll-eyed heads is found on Izapa Stela 1 (Pl. I). (Hereafter, whenever a numbered stela but no site name is mentioned, the reference is to Izapa.) There are at least six heads: on either side of the band of water at the bottom of the stone (Fig. 10 a', a''), as a support for the basket with fish in it, upside-down and under the jug carried by the main figure (Fig. 10 a'''), the head of the figure (Fig. 10 a'''), and on the headdress.

Other variants of the scroll-eyed head are seen on El Baúl Stela 1, and on Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 and 19 (Fig. 10c, d, and e). A double scroll or upside-down J-form is added to the stepped upper lip of the Izapa Stela 1 heads. The Kaminaljuyú Stela 4 figure holds the head, while on Stela 19 from the same site the head is attached to the tail of the serpent (Fig. 11a).

On El Baúl Stela 1, the head is shown in its usual position facing left directly above and to the right of the main figure (Fig. 10c). Now, however, the head terminates in continually expanding but interlocking scrolls that occupy the upper part of the stela. Directly above the figure and connected to the scroll-eyed head via these scrolls is a snugly fitting profile head peering

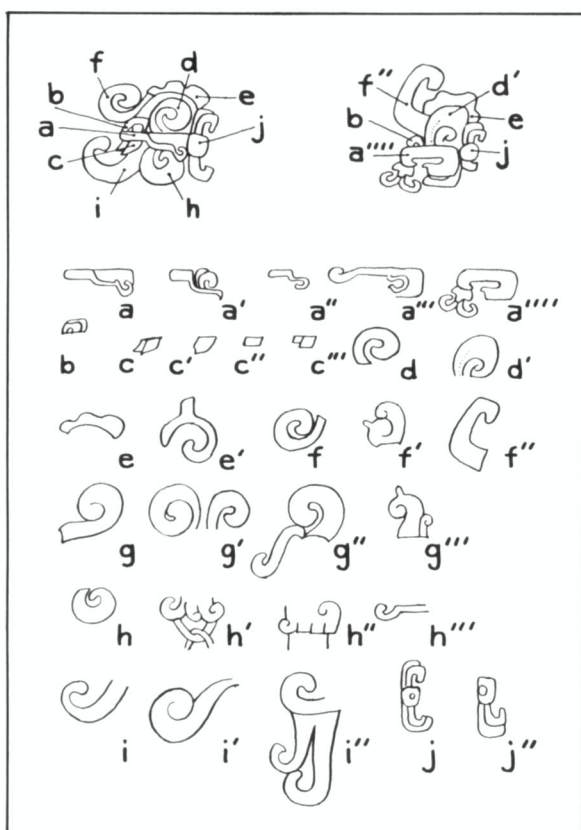


Fig. 9 Scroll-eyed head. Prototype: a. Stepped upper lip; b. Flared nostril; c. Teeth; d. Eye scroll; e. Scalloped head; f. Forehead scroll; g. Head scroll; h. Lower jaw scroll; i. Tongue scroll; j. Earplug.

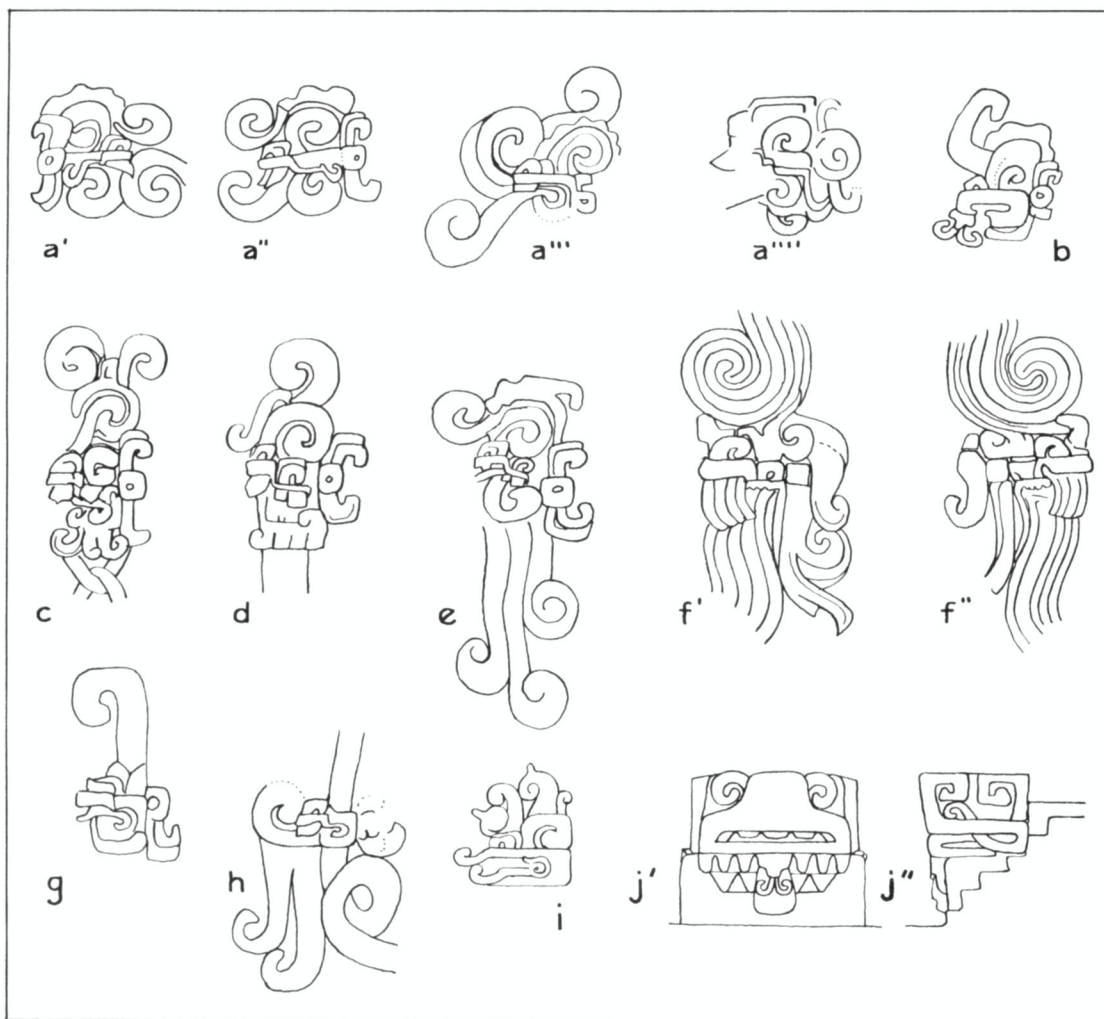


Fig. 10 Scroll-eyed heads. Examples: *a'*, *a''*, *a'''*, *a''''*. Izapa, Stela 1 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 49); *b*. Izapa, Stela 3 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 2); *c*. El Baúl, Stela 1 (after Parsons 1967: Fig. 3); *d*. Kaminaljuyú, Stela 19 (after Proskouriakoff 1968: Fig. 4); *e*. Kaminaljuyú, Stela 4 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 11); *f*. Tres Zapotes, Monument C (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 5); *g*. Izapa, Stela 3 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 2); *h*. Izapa, Stela 50 (after Bernal 1969: Pl. 86); *i*. Izapa, Stela 23 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 12); *j*. Uaxactún, Structure E-VII-Sub, lower zone masks (front and profile views).

downward at the main scene (Fig. 11b). It is framed by a rectangular unit with two prominent diagonal bands. These could very likely stand for an abbreviated top-line design.

This head is a feline-serpent creature which appears under many different guises, anthropomorphized and presented in frontal and profile views as a bodyless head or attached to serpent

bodies. Serpentine attributes are presented by a series of scroll forms. Their configuration around a stepped horizontal band personifies a creature with feline characteristics.

#### *Compound Figures*

Compound figures can have anthropomorphic or zoomorphic attributes. These can be

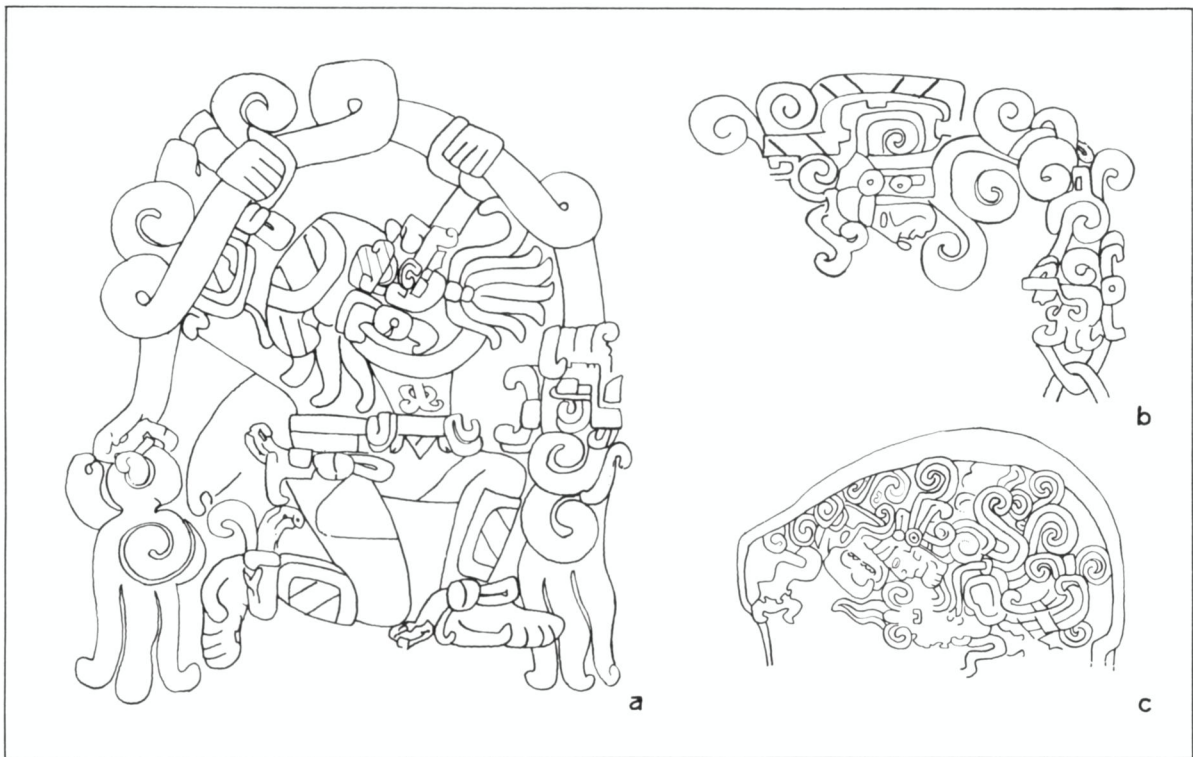


Fig. 11 Celestial symbols and downward-peering heads: *a.* Kaminaljuyú, Stela 19 (after Proskouriakoff 1968: Fig. 4); *b.* El Baúl, Stela 1 (after Parsons 1967: Fig. 3); *c.* Abaj Takalik, Stela 2 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 9).

predominantly human, crocodilian, or serpentine with portions of the others included.

The head and feet of primarily human figures are the physiological features most likely to vary. Bearded jaguar-mask heads are found on Stela 50 (Pl. V) and Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 (Fig. 11a). The broken Kaminaljuyú Stela 4 may possibly have had a similar head. The Kaminaljuyú stelae have crocodile feet. The figures on all three stelae have wings.

Another winged figure with crocodile claws is represented in a squatting position on Stela 11 (Pl. III). He is fat and wears a large crocodile-mask headdress. However, too much of the relief is destroyed to afford an accurate reading. Even though the head appears to be human, it could easily be a complete crocodile head turned upward, as is the one on Stela 6 (Stirling

1943: Pl. 50). The downward-flying figure on Stela 11 wears wings comprised of long rectangular units ending in double scrolls.

Two other winged figures with similarly placed crocodilian attributes are shown flying on Stelae 2 and 4 (Pls. VI, VII). Like the squatting figure of Stela 11, these wear crossed bands within cartouches. The others with similar traits (wings and crocodile claws), shown on Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 and 19, wear diagonal bands.

Another anthropomorphic figure frequently used by Izapan sculptors has a scroll-eyed head but no wings (Stela 1). On Stela 3 the head has a small bifurcated tongue attached to the long lip (Pl. II, Fig. 10b). This personage appears on Stela 50 as a skeleton from whose rib cage a long serpent emerges and is held aloft by a flying winged figure (Pl. V). The Stela 1 figure has

heads of fishes instead of feet or claws, and fins attached to its ankles.

Compound crocodilian figures are represented on Stelae 6 and 64. Both figures have crocodile heads and claws. The former is fat and has a serpent head at the base of his spine, complete with bifurcated tongue, while the latter is a realistic portrayal of a hanging crocodile whose tail turns into a tree.

Compound serpentine or saurian figures are represented on Stelae 3, 12 (Pls. II, X), and 50, Kaminaljuyú Stelae 11 and 19, and Chiapa de Corzo carved human femur number 1. In the latter, one of the serpentine or saurian figures has a bearded jaguar mask on one end, while the other has a human head with a fleshless mandible. The figures on the carved bones have humanlike arms complete with bracelets and crocodile claws.

#### *Human figures*

Large striding human figures are represented on Stelae 2, 4, 9, and 21 (Pls. VI, VIII, IV), Abaj Takalik Stelae 1 and 2, El Baúl Stela 1, and Tres Zapotes Stela D. Much smaller and usually seated figures with incense burners and other objects placed in front of them are represented on Stelae 5, 12, and 18 (Pls. IX and X).

#### *Diagonals, U Shapes, and Crossed Bands*

Aside from their use in top- and base-line designs, diagonal bands are also associated with long-lipped heads. These heads, whose antecedents are obviously the Olmec and Olmecoid jaguar head with the stepped upper lip, are used as terrestrial and celestial symbols.

Diagonal bands are found within the horizontal bar (long upper lip) of the platform heads (terrestrial dragons) which are either parallel, as in Abaj Takalik Stela 3, or opposed, as in Bilbao Monument 42 (Fig. 12b and c). Diagonal bands are placed within the long bifurcated tongue of the long-lipped head worn at belt level by the Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 figure (Fig. 12d). Opposed diagonal bands are used in the "collar" base-line designs of Stelae 4 and 18 (Fig. 6b and d).

The long-lipped heads as celestial symbols are for all intents and purposes identical to those used to symbolize the earth. What sets the former apart may be the use of crossed rather than diagonal bands. Crossed bands are associated with compound winged figures shown either flying or on the ground. Both figures shown on Izapa Stela 4 have this element within cartouches (Pl. VII). Izapa Stela 2 and Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 also have this element in similar contexts, although another element is added to the crossed bands in the latter. The main figure on Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 wears a long-lipped head mask, with another one placed directly above in the headdress. Attached to the nose of the head mask is a Y-shaped element with dots in the negative areas and at the four corners of the cartouche (Fig. 12e).

Diagonal bands and crossed bands are also associated with U-shaped elements, whose contextual settings and associations are quite varied. The U element is found within the supraorbital area or in the stylized eyebrows of celestial and terrestrial long-lipped heads, jaguar "mask" heads, and even in costume details. Outside the Izapan area, the U element is used in subsequent periods in glyphic contexts as well. The U element appears in the breechcloths of the flying figures of Izapa Stelae 2 and 4 and on the headdress of the Kaminaljuyú Stela 10 figure (Fig. 13e and f). In Bilbao Monument 42, the U element and crossed bands within cartouches are seen at belt level, and diagonals are found on the three belt appendages (Fig. 12f). There are no heads whatever in this sculpture.

The crossed-bands element is related to representations of jaguar figures in monuments from La Venta. It is placed within the mouth of a jaguar head on the ledge of Altar 4 and on the headdress (twice) of the figure emerging from the niche (jaguar mouth?) of Altar 5. Most other Olmec and Olmecoid examples are found in headdresses: the Simojovel engraved celt (Drucker 1952: Pl. 59, right) and the Chalcatzingo rock carvings (Covarrubias 1961: Fig. 24). La Venta Monument 19 has two crossed-bands

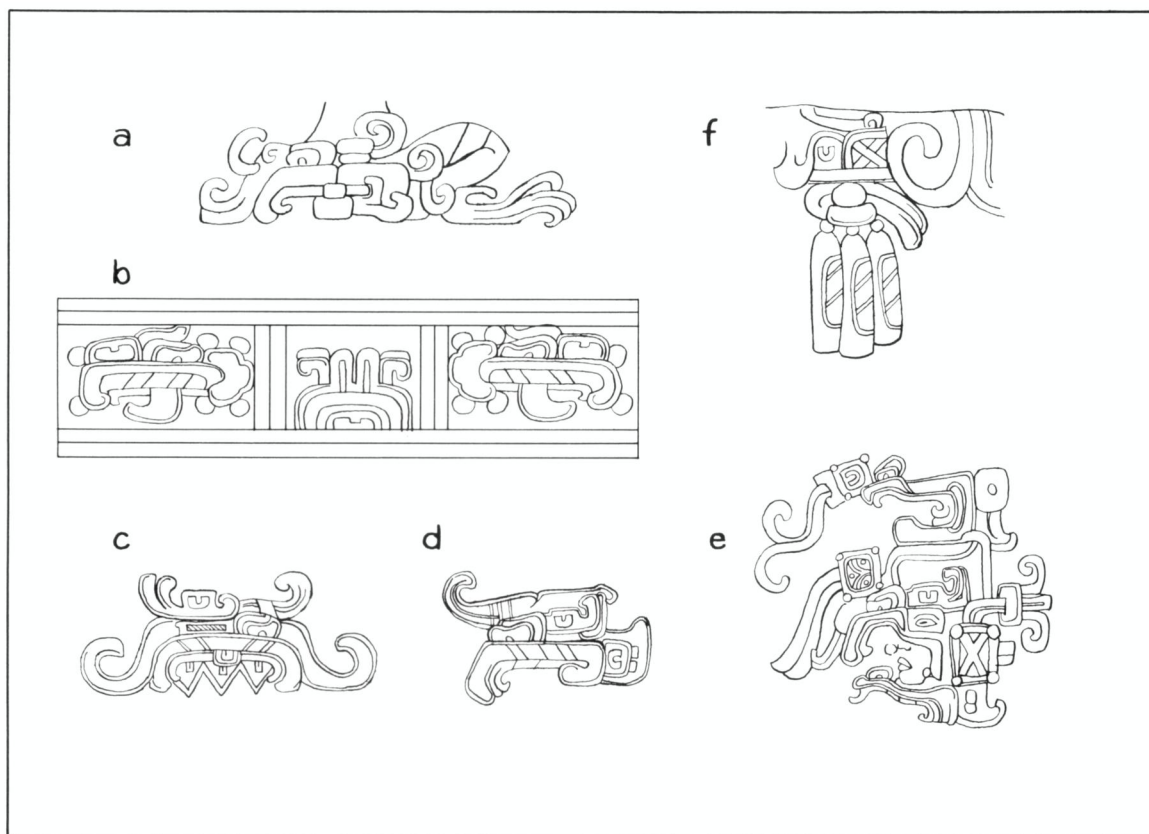


Fig. 12 Long-lipped heads with diagonal bands and U-shaped elements: *a*. Izapa, Stela 2 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 8); *b*. Abaj Takalik, Stela 3 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 8); *c*. Bilbao, Monument 42 (after Parsons 1969: Pl. 39); *d*. Kaminaljuyú, Stela 11 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15); *e*. Kaminaljuyú, Stela 11 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15); *f*. Bilbao, Monument 42, drawn from a photograph and a rubbing (after Parsons 1969: Pl. 39).

elements placed directly above the main figure, depicted at headdress level (Covarrubias 1961: Lám. XIII).

The crossed-bands element is used as a chest ornament on a fat jadeite figure from Necaxa, Puebla (Covarrubias 1961: Pl. facing p. 80). Could this be the same fat figure represented in a squatting position on Izapa Stela 11? This figure wears a similar chest ornament. The other fat creature with feline and crocodilian features is represented on Izapa Stela 6. There are no

crossed bands used in this sculpture.

#### *Confrontation Scenes*

Compound serpentine figures are the object of a theme represented on Stelae 1, 3, and 50 (Pls. I, II, V), Kaminaljuyú Stela 19, and possibly Stela 4 from the same site. The main protagonist, a human or compound anthropomorphic figure with feline, serpentine, and crocodilian traits, attacks or holds the compound serpent body with outstretched arms. The confronta-



tion can take place in the air or on the ground. Stelae 1 and 3, and Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 represent the former, while Stela 50 represents the latter.

The clearest and most dramatic representation of this confrontation scene is found on Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 (Fig. 11a). The compound figure holds the serpent body looped at intervals at arm's length. The serpent body terminates at both ends with three wavy forms that may be unwound scrolls. The unusual feature is the head on the right side, which is actually a variation on the scroll-eyed head, but shown upside-down and attached to the tail of the serpent. An identical scroll-eyed head is held by the figure depicted on Kaminaljuyú Stela 4 (Fig. 10e). The major changes are the three scrolls flowing downward and attached to the bottom of the head. The head now appears to be severed from the serpent body. Both Kaminaljuyú figures have clawlike feet, large framed patches on the front parts of the legs, and small serpents tied around the ankles and at the upper part of the thigh. Both figures wear identical notched wings seen to the left at waist level. The Stela 4 figure wears beaded anklets. The Stela 19 figure has diagonal bands prominently displayed in broadly framed cartouches on legs, hat, and forearm and in the stylized eyebrow.

The confrontation scene on Stela 1 takes place above the top-line design, which is above a "water supplier" with a scroll-eyed head. Perhaps the figure on Stela 3 has just chopped off the tail of the large serpent in front of him. This would explain the bodyless "blind" head placed on the left side at ground level (Pl. II, Fig. 10g). The same theme is represented on Izapa Stela 50. Here the serpent body emerges from the rib cage of a large skeletal figure, and is being pulled up by a flying winged figure with a bearded "jaguar-mask" head. The "blind" head seen on Stela 3 appears twice. It is attached to the head and to the body of the serpent, and is seen above and directly below the flying figure (Pl. V, Fig. 10h). This may be another way of showing the double-headed serpent body seen on Stelae 11

(Pl. III) and 23 (Miles 1965: 253, Fig. 12d).

Who are these attackers with multiple attributes? What does this confrontation mean? Could it symbolize the earth and sky with the jaguar, crocodile, and serpent as carriers of this meaning? Would their confrontation, violent or otherwise, lead to an amalgamation of the two? Since the scroll-eyed head is intimately involved in this theme and its role as a water supplier firmly established on Stelae 1 and 23, then the combat or confrontation scene could conceivably bring water. This would make the scroll-eyed head a prototypal rain deity. The downward-flying figure on Stela 23 has, like the main figure on Stela 1, a scroll-eyed head(?) and numerous other double-scrolled units similar to the bifurcated-tongue representations seen on other stelae: in his right hand, as a breechcloth, and trailing downward from his back. The serpentine body above and on the sides of this figure has similar extensions attached to each long-lipped head.

One costume detail not yet discussed may relate these feline and crocodilian compound figures to others in the Izapan area and outside as well: this is a biblike triangular chest pendant with scrolls, worn by the two figures depicted on Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 and 19. The same chest ornament is worn by two of the figures depicted on the Chiapa de Corzo carved human femurs (Fig. 13b and c). That these are representations of the same jaguar-crocodile creature can be seen by the use of the jaguar muzzle, blocklike teeth, prominent eyebrow—this time with inverted U element—and bunlike hat. Some differences are the furry ear and the beard seen on the Bone 1 jaguar head (although the Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 figure may also wear a highly stylized beard). This same bearded figure with jaguar mask is depicted on Kaminaljuyú Stela 10 (Miles 1965: 254, Fig. 13). On Abaj Takalik Stela 2, a bearded head peers down at the main scene and is almost obscured by numerous tautly drawn volutes (Fig. 11c).

The jaguar head carved on the Chiapa de Corzo Bone 3 is beardless (Fig. 13c). Agrinier

(1960: Figs. 10 and 11) notes that the head, which is attached to an armless body, appears to be plunging downward, and may be the tail of a serpentine body with a human head. The unusual feature is the fleshless mandible of the human head. Could this entire figure be another representation of the looped serpent held by the Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 personage? This would mean that the scroll-eyed head attached to the

serpent's tail is the same as the beardless jaguar head carved on Bone 3. In fact, it does seem very likely that we are dealing with the same creature in both cases. But what connection does the human head with fleshless mandible have with the serpent head depicted in the Kaminaljuyú relief? Although it is difficult to define the relationship between these heads, it is clearly evident that they are both associated with the

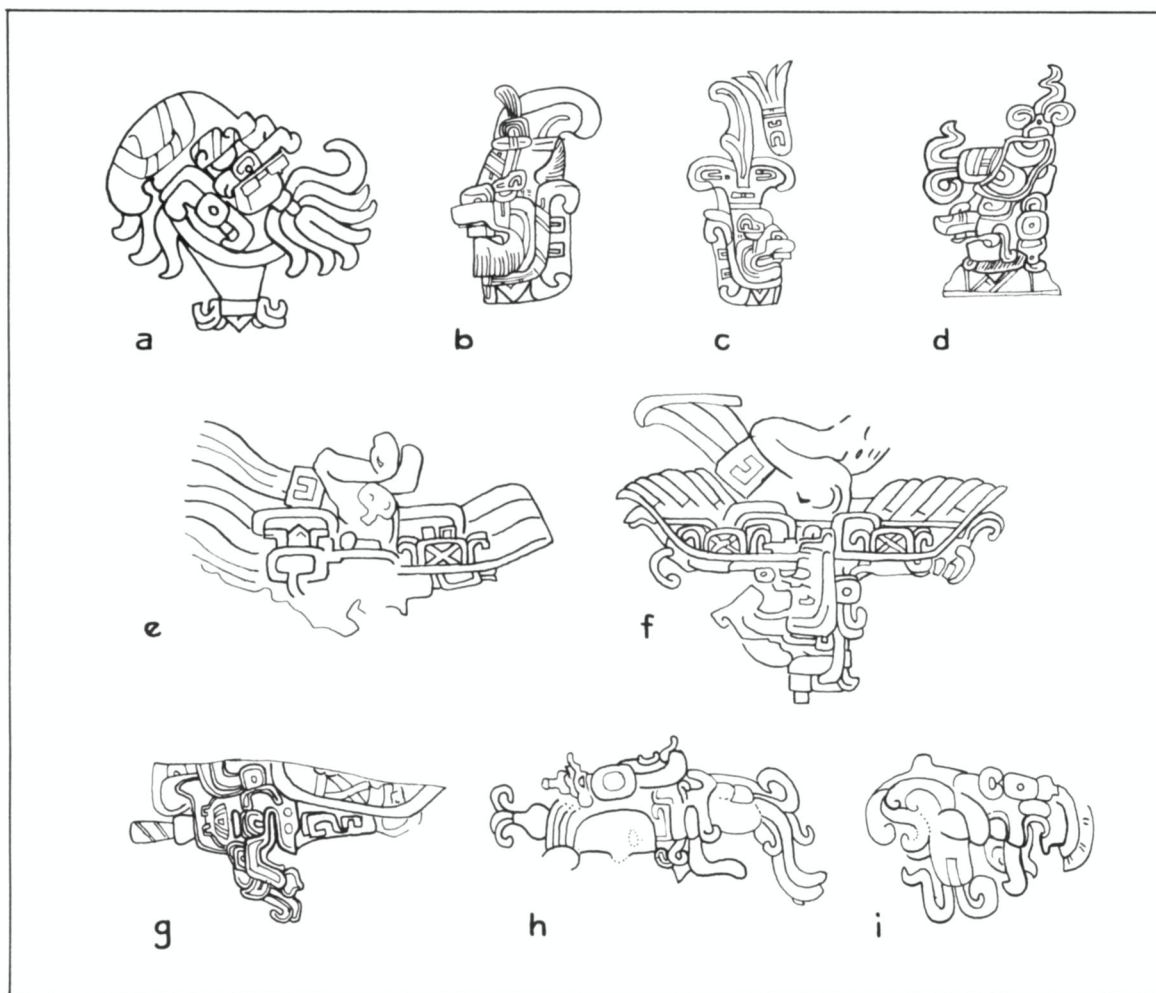


Fig. 13 Triangular-shaped chest ornaments, flying figures, and downward-peering heads: *a.* Kaminaljuyú, Stela 19 (after Proskouriakoff 1968: Fig. 4); *b.* Chiapa de Corzo, Bone 1 (after Agrinier 1960: Fig. 3); *c.* Chiapa de Corzo, Bone 3 (after Agrinier 1960: Fig. 11); *d.* Tikal, Stela 31 (after W. Coe 1965: 33); *e.* Izapa, Stela 4 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 51); *f.* Izapa, Stela 2 (after Stirling 1943: Pl. 49); *g.* Kaminaljuyú, Stela 11 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 15); *h.* Tikal, Stela 29 (after W. Coe 1967: 95); *i.* Tikal, Stela 4 (after Miles 1965: Fig. 9).

sky. The placement of the serpent body and related figures within the visual field bears out this interpretation (Fig. 11a and b). The serpent as sky symbol in later Classic Maya iconography is well known.

The scroll-eyed head or its equivalent is often associated with water (Izapa Stelae 1, 23, and 5) or plants (Figs. 11b and 13c). The opposite of fertility, germination, and growth is perhaps expressed by the head with fleshless mandible. This duality, seen only in the Chiapa de Corzo carved femurs, is also an important theme in the later Classic Maya monuments (Kubler 1969: Figs. 12 and 64).

Finally, the intermediary between these figures with serpentine and feline features, that is, between earth and sky, is the jaguar figure with crocodile and serpent attributes (Fig. 11a). He may be the prototype for the later long-lipped head found in Maya sculpture and painting (Fig. 13d, h, and i).

Agrinier (1960:8) further points out that the Bone 1 jaguar figure with arms (and claws similar to those on the feet of the Kaminaljuyú pieces) appears to be moving upward (Fig. 6a). There seems to be some relationship between these upward-moving jaguar figures and those shown on two Izapan stelae, the flying figures of Stelae 4 and 2 (Fig. 13e and f). The figure on Stela 4 wears crossed bands on his left wing and the same triangular chest ornament seen on Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 and 19. The central striding figure depicted on Izapa Stela 4 has the same wings with crossed bands seen under his upraised left arm. To complete the relationship with the Chiapa de Corzo and Kaminaljuyú pieces, the main figure stands on the "collar" platform.

The head of the flying winged figure of Izapa

Stela 4 is obliterated (Fig. 13e). Nonetheless, it is obvious that the same figure is represented on the framed Stela 2 (Fig. 13f). Although the head and headdress of this figure are ill-defined, enough is left to show the projected muzzle worn over the mouth. His headdress is made up of a long-lipped head with bifurcated scrolls on the end, the characteristic scroll earplug, and a several-stage element on top. This is similar to that worn by the jaguar figure on Chiapa de Corzo Bone 1. The Stela 2 flying figure has crossed bands within cartouches flanked by double scrolls on each wing. Claws are shown on the outer edges of the wings and attached to the long-lipped head seen at the bottom of the same stela (Fig. 12a). A fruit tree sprouts from the top of this head.

A much more abbreviated form of the flying figure is seen at the top of Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 (Fig. 13g). The long-lipped profile head has a tiered element attached to the top. A scrolled earplug and crossed bands within a large cartouche may very well depict the outstretched wing. Directly below this is an upside-down eyebrow with an inset U element.

The other themes are clearly presided over by human celebrants who are invariably shown seated in pairs with incense burners placed between them (Stelae 5, 12, and 18). There seem to be no flying compound figures or any of the other compound figures associated with these scenes. There are a number of dragon heads placed on tops of poles (serpent body) and used as terrestrial dragons (Stela 5); definitely identified as great serpent bodies are those used to frame the main scene on Stela 12 (Fig. 4f). Directly above the seated celebrants a dead jaguar is hung with a matted design placed under its abdomen (Pls. IX and X).

## FORM AND SPACE

The style of the Izapa stelae is dynamic. There is nothing static in the representation of profile figures in action, with upraised arms wielding weapons (hatchets and knives), strid-

ing, flying, grappling, attacking or beheading the compound serpent figures. Even when a figure is shown at rest (Stelae 2, 6, and 11), the definition of the forms is such that the dynamism



is retained. Many of the compositions of the reliefs are symmetrical (Stelae 11, 23, 5, 12, and 18), but a few are quite emphatically asymmetrical (Stelae 21, 50, 1, and 3). Single striding figures (Stelae 4 and 9, Kaminaljuyú Stela 11, Abaj Takalik Stela 1, and El Baúl Stela 1) depart from a patent bilateral symmetry. In this group only El Baúl Stela 1 is demonstrably symmetrical, with the inclusion of the large glyphic panel on the left side.

Almost all of the narrative panels of the stelae are rectangular, whether they are framed on all sides (Stelae 2 and 9) or only above and below (all others). Stela 3 is almost square while Stelae 5 and 21 are much wider than they are high. This is obviously due to the more complex themes represented.

The discussion of the stelae which follows does not necessarily correspond to a chronological sequence. It reflects in a very general way the classification of the stelae in terms of their top-line designs. The placement within these groups of stelae which do not have top-line designs is based on other formal and thematic considerations.

*Groups 1 and 2: Stelae 1, 3, 10, 11, 21, 50, 2, 4, 6; Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 and 19; Abaj Takalik Stela 1.*

Stela 1 has a single background plane with a few peripheral forms, on the lower right and in front of the figure's head, just barely raised and differentiated with incised line (Pl. I). The positive area, comprised of the figure, his costume, attributes and related objects, is on another plane with few raised surfaces; it is primarily flat with details defined by incised lines. The zone between the figure and ground is perpendicular to the planes, for the sculptor used vertical rather than angular cuts. Volumetric definition is achieved by the quality of the form outlines; these are comprised of softly curved and rounded contours.

The carving of Stela 3 is basically the same as that of Stela 1 although the proportions of the figures differ considerably (Pl. II). The Stela 1

figure has almost five heads to the body while the Stela 3 figure has only three. The outlines are also more rectilinear and the forms more angular. There are none of the subtle contour changes seen in Stela 1, nor is there any representation of surface textures in Stela 3, as there is in Stela 1.

Carving on Stelae 10 and 11 is shallower than that on the others in this group. Line is used in Stela 10 to establish the contours of forms. Even in its ruined state, it is evident that neither texture nor details were defined with incised line; positive areas are barely raised. Stela 11 is not as flat (Pl. III). Lines used to define details of costume and overlapping shapes are more varied. These are comprised of grooved line, tapered in some instances to create tilted planes. Outer contour edges are rounded off. This stela, like the recently discovered Stela 23, presents a strict bilateral symmetry.

Stelae 21 and 50 are similar formally if not thematically (Pls. IV and V). Both demonstrate very sophisticated uses of overlapping. Only Stela 21 has a top-line design.

The proportions of the central figure on Stela 21 are approximately five heads to the body. No attention is paid to "correct" representation of actual physiological details. The right hand of the victim, which is unusually large, is identical to the hands of the Stela 50 skeleton figure and to those of the figure on Stela 3. There is an incised line across the wrists which makes these look like gloves. The Stela 3 figure actually wears bands on both arms about the wrist and around the left leg above the ankle. In all cases these contain rectangular "guards" placed parallel to the leg and arms. The contours of the warrior's legs on Stela 21 are undifferentiated as they taper down to the ankles. Outlines define a drawn-out S form. The legs of the palanquin carriers are represented in similar fashion. However, the artist has correctly used overlapping of the right legs of warrior and victim to establish their placing in space. The diminution of size of the figures carrying the palanquin, with a figure inside and a jaguar on top, would

seem to indicate that these are at a distance, either in space and/or time, from the events taking place in the center. Nonetheless, there seems to be some confusion regarding the articulation of space in this part of the scene. The left foot of the palanquin carrier shown on the right overlaps part of the victim's left hand. This negates the use of lesser size as an indicator of distance, for it thrusts these figures dramatically to the front visual plane.

The sculptor of Stela 50 demonstrated the lifeless aspect of the skeleton figure very effectively by emphasizing its slumped pose and by placing it within the right bulge of the stone. The articulation of the complicated scene is based on an L-shaped format around which the flying winged figure, the serpent body, and the skeleton are arranged. The artist has used overlapping to establish the various parts within a legible spatial framework. The serpent body clearly goes between the legs of the skeleton. The right leg is raised slightly higher and is overlapped by the serpent body and the left leg.

Stela 2, although framed on all four sides, represents an even more pronounced separation of figure and ground planes (Pl. VI). The vertical cuts are rounded off slightly on all shapes, giving them a knobby appearance. Incised line, used to define the various interior parts of each form and their boundaries, does not vary in thickness or depth. The invasion of the wing tips and claws of the downward-flying figure onto the side borders of the frame effectively divides the scene in two. The two small human celebrants with outstretched arms occupy the lower part, the legs and belt sash of the flying figure occupy the upper. In both, the perfectly flat negative plane provides the shadow cushions which make these stand out so effectively. The main part of the flying figure—the outstretched wing firmly anchored to the sides—is like a canopy and provides a horizontally displaced lid on the whole scene.

The Stela 4 figure, like that of Stela 1, measures about four heads to the body (Pl. VII). It presents a number of innovative formal and the-

matic features. For the first time the human celebrant stands on a large horizontal panel which is defined like the rest of the scene in shallow relief with fine incised lines for details. The combination of incising, tilted planes which give the forms a more modeled effect, and changes in size between the striding earth-bound figure and the flying one, contribute to a configuration and surface treatment which sets this apart from all other known Izapa stelae.

There is more overlapping of forms in Stela 6 (Stirling 1943:Pl. 50a) than in any of the others described above, because of the presentation of the arms and legs held close to a large round body shown in profile rather than outstretched or raised. The fat crocodile with serpent (serpent-head tail) and jaguar traits (jaguar capelet) is depicted with a series of convex shapes that continually echo each other: the belly, the thighs, the swell of the back, the outer contours of the claws, the shape of the wristlets, and anklets. All outer contour edges are rounded off, with some of the inner forms (those of the thigh) representing oblique or tilted planes. The scrolls of the headdress which flow over the back offer a contrast in shape and definition. The fine incised lines stand next to the pits of the jaguar capelet. The figure does not actually sit on firm ground but floats just slightly above the lower ledge of the stone.

Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 (Miles 1965: Fig. 11c) and 19 (Proskouriakoff 1968: Fig. 4) are similar to Izapa stelae in that relief is primarily comprised of two physical planes with little use of incised line for detail.<sup>5</sup> There is little differentiation in thickness of forms, either in scrolls, serpent body, legs, or arms of the compound fig-

<sup>5</sup>Photographs of the monuments discussed below can be found in the following publications:

Chiapa de Corzo femurs 1 and 3 (Agrinier 1960: Fig. 17); Kaminaljuyú Stelae 4 and 11, and Abaj Takalik Stela 1 (Miles 1965: Figs. 11c, 15a, 17c); El Baúl Stela 1, and Kaminaljuyú Stela 19 (Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 110; 1968: 25, Fig. 4); Izapa Stelae 19, 20, 18, and Tres Zapotes Monument C (Stirling 1943: Pls. 57 a and b, 55, 5, and 17a).

ures. The forms are even more flattened out than in the Izapa pieces for there is little overlapping, and the use of undulating contours to create volumetric effects is almost totally absent.

Abaj Takalik Stela 1 (Miles 1965:265, Fig. 17c) is conceived in terms of silhouette. The outstanding characteristic is the outline of the figure along with its elaborate costume and paraphernalia, the serpent and jaguar. The two distinct physical planes are firmly established. The figure is uniformly raised while the background is just as carefully cut away to form a single plane. Overlapping of forms and incising are used to define the various parts of the positive area. The placement, position, and definition of the figure is similar to that of the figure on Izapa Stela 1.

The figure on Stela 1, El Baúl (Bernal 1969:Pl. 94), is given about the same importance as the panel of glyphs placed in front of it. Physiological details are not defined in terms of undulating lines as are those of Abaj Takalik Stela 1 and Izapa Stela 1. Here the contours are rectilinear, giving the figure a greater angularity than is seen in those two stelae. The variety of relief is found on the upper part of the stela. The inner contours of the scrolls are strongly defined with planes tilting away toward the edge of each form.

#### *Group 3: Stelae 19 and 20*

Stelae 19 and 20 (Stirling 1943:Pl. 57), which are much smaller and narrower than any of the other stelae, do not have a scene depicted within the narrative panel. Both have altars associated with them. Altar 16, in front of Stela 19, represents a crab. Altar 20, in front of Stela 20, is plain. The relief is very shallow on Stela 19, with positive areas just barely raised. In the central part of the stela the negative space has not been completely cut away so that only near the raised surfaces does this area dip to form a tilted plane which joins the vertical cuts of the major forms. The relief on Stela 20 is far closer to incising than relief.

#### *Group 4: Stela 9, Kaminaljuyú Stelae 10 and 11, Chiapa de Corzo Bones 1 and 3*

The figure on Stela 9 is defined in very shallow relief (Pl. VIII). It measures approximately six heads to the body. The lower panel of the top-line design projects more than the sides and is emphasized even more than the striding winged figure.

Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 (Miles 1965:260, Fig. 15a) is one of the most complicated pieces thematically and formally. Overlapping, incised line, concave and oblique surfaces are all used by the sculptor. Body parts like legs, arms, and hands are highly stylized. The insteps of the feet are unusually pronounced and are almost identical to those of the figure of Izapa Stela 9. Like most of the Izapa figures this one measures a little over five heads to the body.

Kaminaljuyú Stela 10 (Miles 1965:254, Fig. 13) and Chiapa de Corzo carved human femurs 1 and 3 (Agrinier 1960: Fig. 16) are all similar in style. Incised line is used more in these pieces to define forms, qualities, and identifying features than in any other sculpture reviewed.

There is no definite pattern in the relationship of the size of the figure to the height of the narrative panels in the stelae and other carved monuments discussed above. Stelae 3 and 21 represent a ratio of figure to ground of 3:4. Stela 1 has a ratio of 5:6 while Stela 4 is 1:2. The Abaj Takalik Stela 1 ratio is 4:5, in between that of Izapa Stelae 3, 21, and 1. Thematic considerations obviously played a major role in the ratios of figure to ground.

Even though there is clearly no pattern in figure-to-ground proportions, the standing profile figures are fairly consistent in actual size.<sup>6</sup> Most of them are within a range of 15 centimeters. The smallest is 69 centimeters on Stela 3 and the largest is 86 centimeters on Stela 9. The figures on Stelae 4 and 21 are both 81 centimeters

<sup>6</sup>Measurements of figures and narrative frames are approximate. These were determined by measuring each figure and ground in photographs of the stelae, and working out a scale based on the known dimensions of each stone, length and width.

while the figure on Stela 1 is 78 centimeters in height. Abaj Takalik Stela 1, again very close to Izapa Stela 1, is 80 centimeters. The smallest and largest figures could also be the earliest and latest within these four groups.

#### *Groups 5 and 6: Stelae 5, 12, 18*

Positive and negative areas are difficult to pick out on Stela 5, perhaps the most complicated relief sculpture at this site (Pl. IX). The relief is very shallow. The contours of the slightly raised surface are completely rounded off. There are no easily read angles between raised and recessed areas; each blends into the other. Incised line is used to define objects and their qualities. Even with the complicated scenes comprised of standing and seated figures, a large tree, and large compound dragon creatures, the arrangement is symmetrical. What is presented on one side is echoed on the other.

The relief of Stela 12 is similar to that of Stela 5 (Pl. X). There is no great differentiation between positive and negative areas. Quite often in both stones, forms which are to be read as raised are depicted in such a way that the outer defining bands are raised while the inner identifying features are comprised of raised and recessed areas. Thus the inner negative areas of the frame on Stela 12, consisting of two serpent bodies, are physically on the same plane as the background of the major scenes. There is a great deal of overlapping of figures within the narra-

tive panel of Stela 12. The seated figure shown on the left overlaps the serpent body as does the head and tail of the hanging jaguar. Since the stone is irregular in shape, the artist added what appears to be a long-lipped head with large scrolls coming out of its mouth on the right side of the main scene to balance the relief.

The upper part of Stela 18 (Stirling 1943:Pl. 55), including the top-line design, is partially illegible because of damage to the stone. Four seated figures are represented on the lower part of the stela: two on the front and two on the sides. The arrangement of the figures is symmetrical. Relief is not very pronounced; contours are rounded off and incised lines are uniform throughout the panel.

The seated human figures represented on Stelae 5, 12, and 18 are much smaller than those found in stelae in Groups 1 through 4. Even Stela 10, which has a Group 2 top-line design, has seated figures larger than those represented in these stelae. As a result of this change in pose and size, the figure-to-ground ratios change dramatically. The seated figures average around 28 centimeters and have a ratio of 1:4. The large seated figure on Stela 10 is over 10 centimeters larger and has a ratio of 2:5. The only standing figures found in this group of stelae are seen in Stela 5. They range from 41 to 46 centimeters in size; this is a little over half the size of all the other standing figures represented on Izapan-style monuments.

## IZAPAN-STYLE FEATURES OUTSIDE THE AREA

Izapan themes and motifs are also found at Tres Zapotes, Monte Albán, Uaxactún, and Tikal. A flying figure is represented on Tres Zapotes Stela D (Stirling 1943:15, Fig. 4). The flying figure is barely visible above the main scene in which three figures participate, the whole represented within a rectangular panel framed by the open mouth of a jaguar. Proportions and poses of the figures are not as fluid as those of the Izapan pieces. Relief is made up of

softly rounded forms which project from the background. Most of the Izapan stelae have relief surfaces in which background and figure exist on two distinct planes. Sometimes the contour lines are rounded off. More often the boundaries between figure and ground are perpendicular to these two planes. Details are incised.

Another Tres Zapotes sculpture which is closer to the Izapan-style pieces in terms of exe-

cution and configuration is Monument C (Stirling 1943:Pls. 5 and 6). Plano-relief and incised line are its primary characteristics. Its theme of a celestial combat with club-wielding figures is closer to Olmec examples. However, it is very likely that all the scrolls dominating side A of the monument are tied together by scroll-eyed heads. Although the characteristic earplugs are missing, the scrolls, flaring nostril, horizontal bar mouth, and teeth are included (Fig. 10f', f''). Their placement within larger scrolls is close to El Baúl Stela 1 and Abaj Takalik Stela 2.

The lowermost heads flanking the stairways of Uaxactún Structure E-VII-Sub (Fig. 10i') differ in technical (stucco) and functional terms from the examples reviewed above. However, the use of scrolls to define a feline-serpentine creature ties these with the other scroll-eyed heads. Element e in Groups 4, 5, and 6 top-line designs (Fig. 2) is found in the scrolled nostrils (Fig. 10i') of the Uaxactún heads. Each head has three squared teeth and a wide ribbonlike tongue which spills out and terminates in bifurcated scrolls. Two rows of triangular shapes complete the ensemble. Could this be the same compound creature represented in the top- and base-line designs of the Izapa stelae? Some of the elements of these designs are present. Upside-down J forms have already been mentioned. The squared teeth could be the brackets (i) of the top-line designs. The bifurcated tongue is used in Stelae 20 and 3 (Fig. 10b). The triangular shapes could represent element l of the bottom line designs (Fig. 5). The profile view of these heads is made up of a series of scrolls combined and arranged around a horizontal bar—there is no eye—in a manner reminiscent of the scroll-eyed heads found in Stela 1, El Baúl Stela 1, and Kaminaljuyú Stela 4.

The figures painted on the outer walls of Tikal Structure 5D-Sub. 10-1st (W. Coe 1965:18-19) demonstrate very distinct Izapan features. The figures wear Izapan-type scroll earplugs and beaded bracelets similar to the anklets worn by the Kaminaljuyú Stela 4 figure. The scrolls which frame each figure are remini-

scient of those found on Izapan-style monuments.

Other Tikal monuments which may demonstrate possible ties with Izapan-style monuments are Stelae 4, 29, and 31. Formal and technical similarities are slight. Thematic parallels are even less apparent. Yet there are certain motifs and themes which recall Izapan-style examples. A compound long-lipped creature found in the headdress of the main figure on Tikal Stela 31 (Fig. 13d) is similar to the bearded protagonists of Kaminaljuyú Stela 10 and the Chiapa de Corzo carved femurs. The Tikal figure with framed diagonal band on his torso forms part of the headdress of the main figure. A triangular element is shown under his chin (beard?). He bears a striking resemblance to the downward-peering head of the earlier Tikal Stela 4 (Fig. 13i), which has formal affinities with the Kaminaljuyú Stela 10 head. The upper part of the head is made up of a series of interlocking scrolls with a large projection at forehead level that has double scrolls emanating from it. The earplug and flared nostril are prominently displayed, as they are on the Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 head. The pointed front tooth is closer to those on the Izapa heads. The collar resembles the beard on the jaguar heads already described.

Still earlier than Stelae 4 and 31 is Tikal Stela 29, which may have the prototypal head used in those two stelae. On Stela 29, the long-lipped head forms the headdress of a downward-peering human head (Fig. 13h). Flowing scroll-like plant forms grow from the top of the long-lipped head. The same theme is found on El Baúl Stela 1 and on Abaj Takalik Stela 2.

The J-form volutes of the Izapan top-line designs (j) may possibly have served as a model for the incised inscriptions found on the wall of Mound J at Monte Albán (Caso 1965:937, Fig. 12). The characteristic Izapan scroll earplugs also appear on some urns from that site (Paddock 1966:124, Fig. 80).

U elements and double opposed T's, associated with jaguars and long-lipped heads, are

also found at Monte Albán. The latter have been identified as broad-billed birds by Caso and Bernal (1952:214, Fig. 351). Howard Leigh (1958:3; 1966:266) demonstrated that these are two *cipactlis* shown in profile and placed back-to-back to form a single image in frontal view. According to John Paddock (1966:132, Fig. 103), the U element, which is usually found inscribed on the tongue of the jaguar and given the numerical value of one, is commonly found joined with the representation of another glyph—which is very similar to the double oblique T's found on Chiapa de Corzo Bone 1, in front of the headdress of the Kaminaljuyú Stela 10 figure, and in the base-line design of El Baúl Stela

1 (Fig. 5f). The Zegache vase (Paddock 1966:101, Fig. 21) has the double T's on the cheeks and on the eyebrows. This is identified as an effigy of the god with the mask of the broad-billed bird. The same so-called bird forms the headdress of the anthropomorphic urn found in Tomb 77 at Monte Albán (Paddock 1966:124, Fig. 80). This broad-billed bird is probably the long-lipped head found in the Izapan-style monuments. An example of the long-lipped head with the U element within the supraorbital plate and the double opposed oblique T's on its nose is found on a vessel from Kaminaljuyú Tomb B-1 (Kidder, Jennings and Shook 1946:Fig. 186a).

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Chiapas-Guatemalan highland and Pacific slope sites were not mere transmitters of Olmec cultural ideas and concepts. Highly original solutions, which are reflected and amply documented in the sculptured monuments, were formulated at these sites.

1. There is no equivalent in either Olmec or Maya art to the confrontation scenes depicted on Izapan-style stelae. These Izapan themes are comprised of compound human-animal figures and bodyless heads. The latter, a scroll-eyed head, is the object of these encounters. These heads are shown as water suppliers in the Stela 1 base-line design. However, they are more often related to the confrontation scenes. A variant of the head is attached to the serpent held by the seated figure shown above the top-line design in Stela 1. This head is also attached to the tail of the serpent body on Kaminaljuyú Stela 19; it is cut off and held by the same figure on Kaminaljuyú Stela 4; the head, now "blind", rests on the ground in Stela 3, having been cut off by the figure shown on the right. The same "blind" head is attached to the middle of the serpent body on Stela 50. Another scroll-eyed head is shown as the source of a downward-peering head on El Baúl Stela 1. This time there is a direct connection with the feline-serpent

top-line design which protects the bodyless human head. The bearded combatant, shown either flying or on the ground, usually attacks or grapples with the compound serpent. He is obviously the intermediary between the earth and sky.

2. There are few formal similarities between the sculptures of the three areas. The few known Olmec stelae demonstrate a different approach to the representation of figures in space. There is little physical and visual differentiation between figure and ground in these stelae. Surfaces are barely raised. The central figures in La Venta Stelae 2 and 3 are surrounded by small compound feline-human figures represented in very active poses (Heizer 1967:Pls. 1 and 2). These have been invariably interpreted as flying figures because of their position in the visual field (Kubler 1962:68; M. Coe 1965:752, 773; Cook de Leonard 1959:528). I agree with Robert Heizer (1967:30) in seeing these figures as earthbound individuals of lesser rank, but would venture to say that the Olmec sculptor may have been attempting to represent, as legibly as possible, the numerous figures actually located at various distances from the observer. He did this by placing the figures of lesser importance above the main scene and by reducing

their size rather than depicting so-called flying figures. The Olmec sculptor consistently placed all figures within the front visual plane. Even though he reduced the size of some of these, the single visual plane remained intact. So it is not only in terms of actual relief, and in definition of form, that Izapan-style monuments differ from the Olmec pieces but also in the articulation of space. The sophisticated use of overlapping, diminution of size, and placement of figures to establish a legible spatial framework, as in Izapa Stela 21, is lacking in the Olmec pieces. This is equally true of the Maya pieces reviewed here. Nowhere are the various space indicators utilized by the Izapan sculptors found in the Maya stelae.

3. The concept of the open jaw of a feline-serpent compound figure as a frame for Izapan stelae is related to La Venta. Its abstract configuration, however, is entirely Izapan. This reflects the Izapan sculptor's propensity to abstract, to abbreviate the rather complicated beings into a series of elements and signs.

4. The double opposed diagonals and U-shaped elements were later incorporated into costume details and into glyphic notations in the Maya and Zapotec areas. It is here that the rules of disjunction have to be taken into account. Contextual settings of these elements changed so drastically over such a long period of time (close to a millennium) that their meanings must have changed even though their forms remained intact. And so it was with the persistence in Izapan stelae of the Olmec concept of the open mouth of a feline-serpent figure as a stage. The concept was retained but its form was changed. By the same token the downward-flying figures and the related downward-peering heads were carried over with changes in form from Izapan-style monuments to Early Classic Maya stelae. Maya artists on the other hand retained many Izapan forms—particularly the scrolls—but invested them with different meanings.

5. The top- and base-line designs represent the earth and sky as a place or location where

humans and deities act. An environment that changes constantly is acknowledged by the variety of these designs. This is particularly true of the earth. Its variable aspects are demonstrated by the numerous stylized representations of the markings on compound reptilian and saurian bodies: sometimes the surface is a body of water with fishes swimming in it; at other times its fertile aspects are represented by terrestrial "dragon" heads and crocodiles.

6. Long-lipped heads with U-shaped elements and diagonal bands are the prototypes for the later terrestrial "dragon" heads found throughout Mesoamerica. Coeval with these platform heads are those associated with crossed bands which usually appear in narrative frames.

In Kaminaljuyú Stela 11 the long-lipped head forms an important part of the winged figure's attire at belt, head mask, and headdress levels, and in the upper portion of the stela. Associated with it are the crossed bands seen in the earplug and the wing seen at the top of the stela. This figure, like the main one on Izapa Stela 4, probably represents or impersonates the flying figures whose main features are the long-lipped head, the U element, crossed bands, and the triangular chest pendant. These flying figures with jaguar, serpentine, and bird attributes are ancestral to the downward-peering heads seen in the Early Classic Maya stelae.

7. Thus in the Izapan-style monuments there is free movement between various states and levels—earth and sky—as well as an amalgamation of traits in the compound creatures—combinations of bird, crocodile, jaguar, and/or serpent. The scroll-eyed head—part-jaguar, part-serpent—is probably a water deity, perhaps related to bodies of water. This, combined with the combatant, the jaguar-muzzled figure with crocodile claws and serpent anklets, produced the Mayan long-lipped rain deity. The relationship of these figures with downward-flying figures produced an abbreviated earth-sky symbol, the diagonal and crossed bands, used extensively in Maya glyphic notations.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE \*

| A.D. | PHASES                  |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         | PERIODS<br>(PARSONS,<br>1969) | IZAPAN-STYLE<br>MONUMENTS  | OBJECTS WITH LONG<br>COUNT DATES (GMT)<br>AND OTHERS OUTSIDE<br>THE AREA   |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
|      | IZAPA<br>(EKHOLM, 1969) | CHIAPA<br>DE CORZO<br>(LEE, 1969) | KAMINAL-<br>JUYU | MONTE<br>ALBAN<br>(PADDOCK, 1966) | UAXAC-<br>TUN<br>(R. E. SMITH) | TIKAL<br>(W. COE, 1965) |                               |  |  |
| 600  |                         |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| 500  |                         |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| 400  |                         |                                   |                  | IIIB                              | TZAKOL                         |                         | MIDDLE<br>CLASSIC             |  | ⊙TIKAL STELA 31<br>A.D. 445<br>⊙TIKAL STELA 4<br>A.D. 386  |
| 300  |                         |                                   | ESPERANZA        | IIIA-IIIB                         | MATZANEL                       |                         | EARLY<br>CLASSIC              |  | ⊙TIKAL STELA 29<br>A.D. 292  |
| 200  |                         |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| 100  |                         |                                   |                  | IIIA                              |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| 0    |                         |                                   |                  |                                   | CHICANEL                       | CAUAC                   | PROTO<br>CLASSIC              |  | ⊙A.D. 36 MURAL<br>TIKAL STR. 5 D-<br>SUB 10-1ST<br>⊙25 B.C.<br>⊙EL BAUL STELA 1<br>TRES ZAPOTES STELA C<br>31 B.C. |
| 100  | EARLY<br>PROTOCLASSIC   | HORCONES                          | ARENAL           | II-III A                          |                                |                         |                               | IZAPA STELAS 2,<br>5, 12, 18, 21, 30<br>IZAPA STELAS<br>4, 9, 19, 20 |  |
| 200  |                         | GUANA-<br>CASTE                   | MIRA-<br>FLORES  | II                                | CHICANEL                       | CHUEN                   | LATE<br>PRE-<br>CLASSIC       | KAMINALJUYU<br>STELAS 10, 11   |  |
| 300  | LATE<br>PRECLASSIC      | FRANCESA                          |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               | CHIAPA DE CORZO<br>BONES 1, 3  | MOUND I<br>INSCRIPTIONS<br>TOMB 77 URN   |
| 400  |                         |                                   |                  |                                   |                                | TZEC                    |                               | IZAPA STELAS<br>1, 3, 6, 10, 11, 23                                  |  |
| 500  |                         | ESCALERA                          | PROVI-<br>DENCIA | I                                 | MAMON                          | EB                      | MIDDLE<br>PRE-<br>CLASSIC     | KAMINALJUYU<br>STELAS 4, 19  | ZEGACHE VASE   |
| 600  | DUENDE                  |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| 700  | ?                       | DILI                              |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| 800  |                         |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |
| B.C. |                         |                                   |                  |                                   |                                |                         |                               |  |  |

\*Table 1—Based on Coe (1965) and Parsons (1969)



# IZAPAN-STYLE MONUMENTS WITH TOP- AND BASE-LINE DESIGNS

| TOP-LINE DESIGNS |   |   |   |   |   | M O N U M E N T S |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    |    |    |         |      |    |  |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------------|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|---------|----|----|----|----|---------|------|----|--|
| GROUPS           |   |   |   |   |   | 23                | 3  | 1  | 10 | 11 | 21 | 2 | 4  | AT<br>1 | 19 | 20 | 18 | 9  | EJ<br>1 | 5    | 12 |  |
| 1                | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1                 |    | 2  |    |    |    |   |    | 3       |    |    | 4  | 5  | 6       |      |    |  |
| a                | a | a | a | a | a | a                 | a  | a  | a  | a  | a  | a | a  | a       | a  | a  | a  | a  | a       | a    | a  |  |
| b                | b |   | b | b | b | b                 | b' | b" | b  | b  | b  | b | b' |         |    |    | b" | b  |         | b''' | b  |  |
| c                | c |   |   |   |   | c'                | c  | c  | c  | c  | c  | c | c' | c       |    |    |    |    |         |      |    |  |
|                  |   |   |   |   | d |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    |    |    | d       | d    | d  |  |
|                  |   |   | e | e | e |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    | e  | e' |         | e'   | e' |  |
|                  |   | f |   |   |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         | f  | f' |    |    |         |      |    |  |
| g                | g | g | g |   | g |                   | g  |    | g  | g  | g  | g | g' |         | g  |    |    | g  | g       | g    | g  |  |
|                  | h | h |   |   | h |                   |    | h  | h  | h  | h  |   | h  | h       |    |    |    |    |         | h    |    |  |
|                  | i | i |   |   | i |                   |    | i  |    | i" | i  | i | i' | i       | i" | i" |    |    |         | i'   | i" |  |
|                  | j | j |   |   | j |                   |    | j  | j" | j  | j  | j | j' | j       | j' | j" |    |    |         | j'   | j  |  |
|                  | k |   |   |   | k |                   |    | k  |    | k  | k  | k | k  |         |    |    |    |    |         | k    | k  |  |
|                  |   |   | l | l |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    | l  | l  |         |      |    |  |
|                  |   |   | m | m |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    | m  | m  |         |      |    |  |
|                  |   |   | n |   |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    |    | n  |         |      |    |  |
|                  |   |   | o | o |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    | o  | o  |         |      |    |  |
|                  |   |   | p |   |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    | p  |    |         |      |    |  |
|                  |   |   | q |   |   |                   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |         |    |    | q  |    |         |      |    |  |

LV  
LV ALT  
l 4  
a a  
c c'  
g  
h h

**ABBREVIATIONS:**

A ALVARADO  
AT ABAJ TAKALIK  
EB EL BAUL  
EJ EL JOBO  
CC CHIAPA DE CORZO  
K KAMINALJUYU  
LV LA VENTA  
M MONUMENT  
T TEPATLAXCO  
TZ TRES ZAPOTES

| BASE-LINE DESIGNS |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    | MONUMENTS |    |    |   |   |    |     |                 |                 |    |     |    |   |    |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----------|----|----|---|---|----|-----|-----------------|-----------------|----|-----|----|---|----|-----|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|------|-----------------|-----|---|--|
| GROUPS            |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    | 3         | 11 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 20 | 50  | AT <sub>1</sub> | EB <sub>1</sub> | 4  | K11 | 18 | 1 | 23 | 5   | CC <sub>4</sub> | CC <sub>5</sub> | TZ<br>M<br>C | 12   | CC <sub>7</sub> | A   | T |  |
| 1                 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1         |    |    |   |   | 2  | 3   | 4               | 5               | 6  |     |    | 7 |    | 8   |                 | 9               |              | 10   |                 |     |   |  |
| a                 | a | a | a | a | a |   | a |   | a  | a         | a  | a  | a | a | a  | a   | a               | a               | a  | a   | a  | ? | a  | a   | a               | a               | a            | a    | a               | a   |   |  |
| b                 |   |   |   | b |   |   |   |   | b  | b         | b  | b  | b |   |    |     | b               |                 |    | b   |    |   |    | b   | b               | b               | b            | ?    | b               | b   |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | c  |           |    |    |   |   |    |     |                 |                 |    |     |    |   |    |     |                 | c               | c            | c    | c               | c   |   |  |
|                   |   | d | d |   |   |   | d |   |    |           |    |    |   |   | d  | d   |                 |                 |    |     |    |   | d  |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   | e | e | e | e |   |   |   |   |    |           |    |    |   | e | e' | e'' | e'              |                 |    |     |    |   |    |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   | f |   |   |   |   | f  |           |    |    |   |   |    |     | f'              |                 |    |     |    |   |    |     |                 |                 | f            |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   | g |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |           |    |    |   |   | g  |     |                 |                 |    |     |    |   |    |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   | h |   |   |   |    |           |    |    |   |   |    |     | h               | h               | h  |     |    |   |    |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   | i |   |   |   |    |           |    |    |   |   |    |     | i               |                 | i' |     |    |   |    |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   |   | j |   |   |    |           |    |    |   |   |    |     |                 |                 |    |     | j  | j |    |     |                 |                 |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   |   | k | k | k |    |           |    |    |   |   |    |     |                 |                 |    |     |    | k | k' | k'' | k'''            | k''             |              |      |                 |     |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   |   | l |   | l |    |           |    |    |   |   |    |     |                 |                 |    |     |    | l |    |     |                 |                 | l'           | l''  | l'              | l'  |   |  |
|                   |   |   |   |   |   | m |   | m |    |           |    |    |   |   |    |     |                 |                 |    |     |    | m |    |     |                 |                 | m'           | m''' | m''             | m'' |   |  |

Table 2



Plate I

Izapa Stela 1

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation



Plate II

Izapa Stela 3

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation



Plate III

Izapa Stela 11

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation



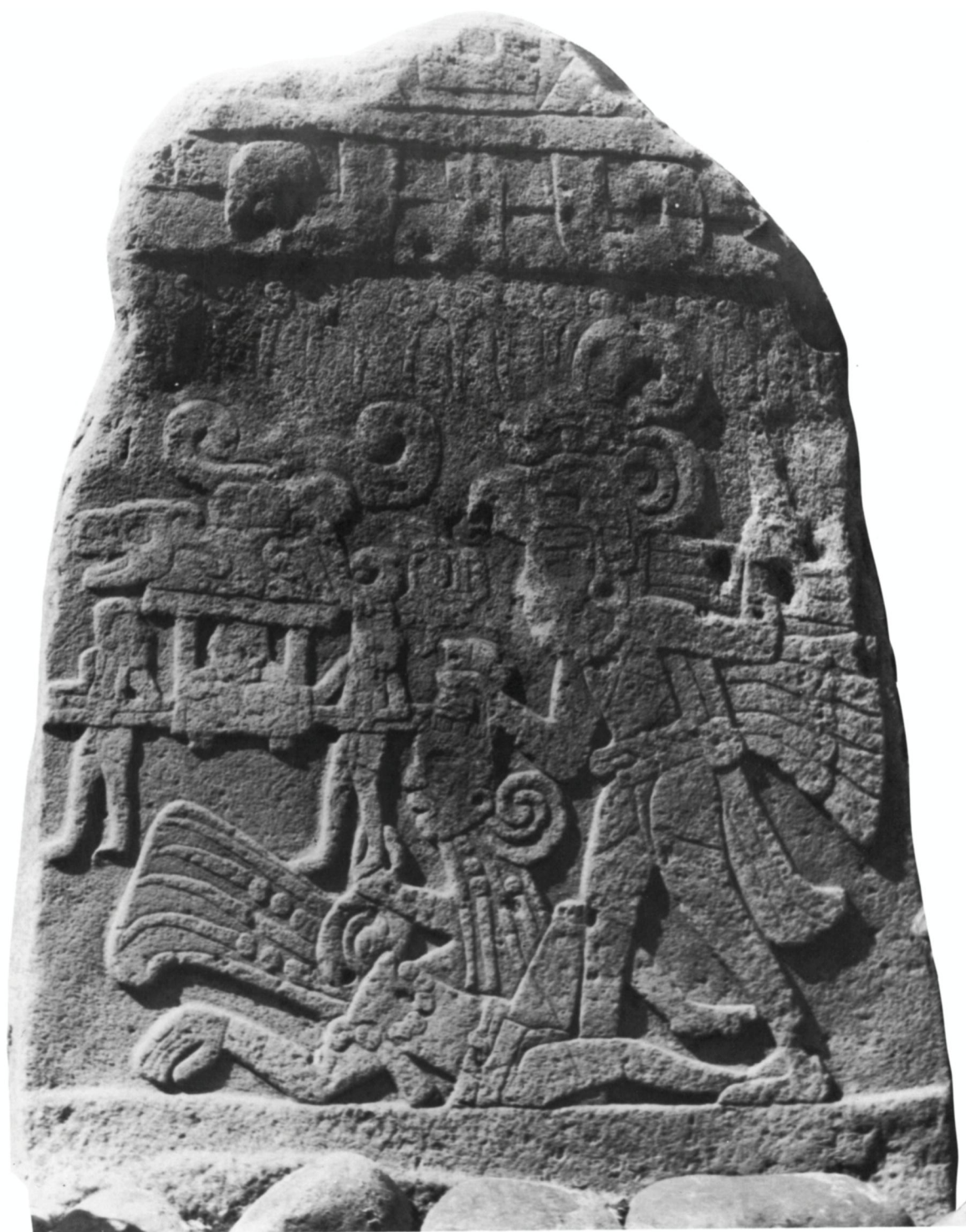


Plate IV

Izapa Stela 21

Photograph courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation

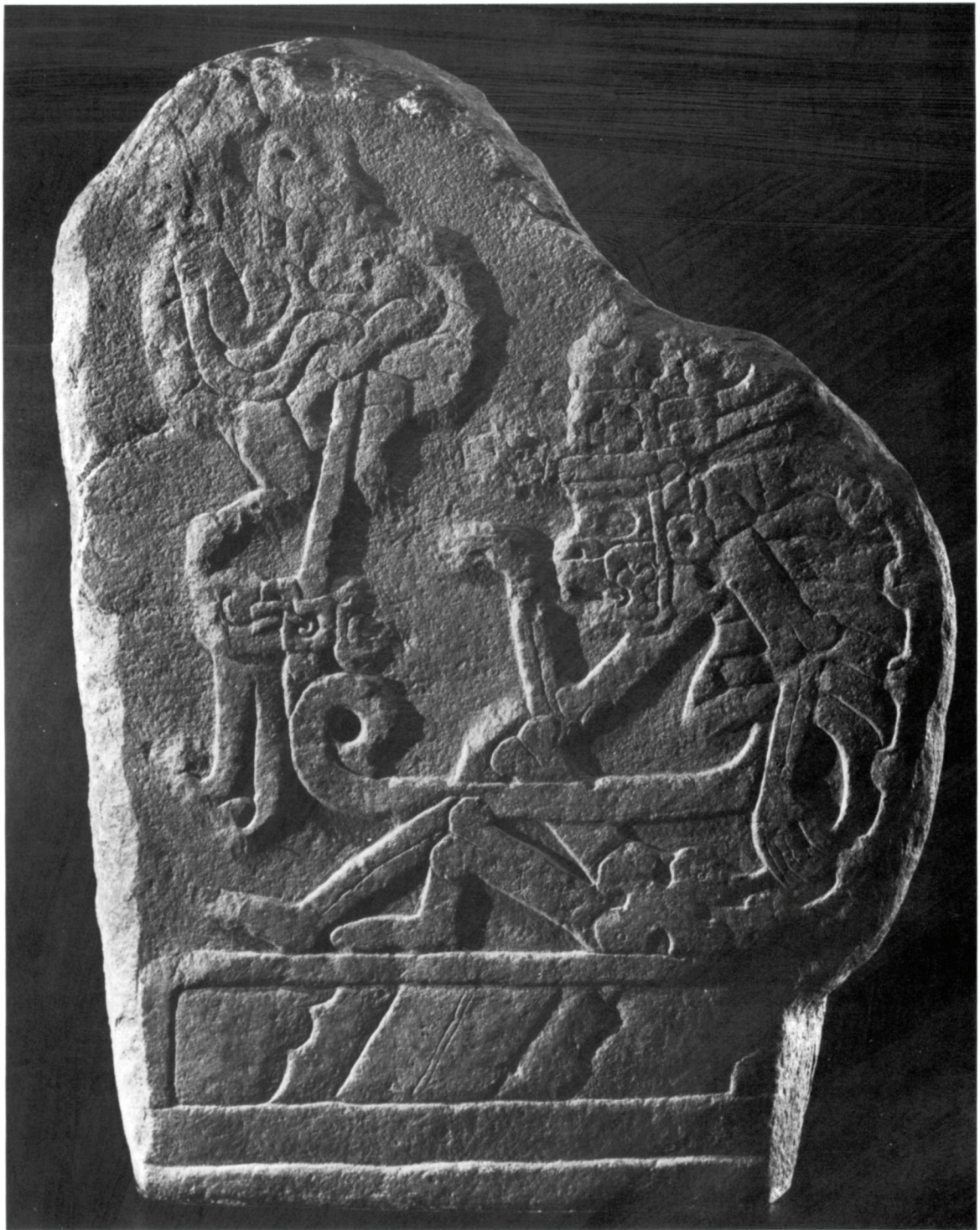


Plate V

Izapa Stela 50

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation





Plate VI

Izapa Stela 2

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation



Plate VII

Izapa Stela 4

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation





Plate VIII

Izapa Stela 9

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation



Plate IX

Izapa Stela 5

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation





Plate X

Izapa Stela 12

Photograph by V. Garth Norman  
Courtesy BYU-New World Archaeological Foundation

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